YOUNG WORKING GIRLS

WOODS AND KENNEDY

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YOUNG WORKING GIRLS

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A SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE FROM TWO THOUSAND SOCIAL WORKERS

EDITED FOR

The National Federation of Settlements

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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PREFACE

THE inquiry of which this volume is the outcome was undertaken immediately upon the formation of the National Federation of Settlements in 1911, in pursuance of one of the chief objects of the Federation — "to bring together systematically the results of settlement experience in specific directions, and to make such results available to all who may profit by them."

The vital and baffling nature of the problem of the adolescent girl of the tenement-house family and the city factory or department store has come to be so keenly felt among settlement workers that there was no uncertainty as to the topic which should be the first for coöperative study throughout the country.

The earliest of two schedules which will be found in the appendix was prepared

as the result of many conferences with settlement residents from different cities, and was widely circulated not only among the settlements of the country, but among many persons of experience in other forms of work among girls. The appeal of the subject and the broad sense of responsibility with regard to it were shown by the earnest, thorough, and widespread response which was made to the questions. Aside from individual replies, the entire staff of many settlements arranged series of conferences at which there was careful and detailed consultation about matters of fact and judgment covered by the schedule. In cities where the settlements are federated, the house conferences led up to general conferences for the city as a whole, different branches of the inquiry being considered in sectional meetings and the sectional conclusions reported upon in the general gatherings. The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers secured the valu-

able services of Miss Harriet McD. Daniels as director of the study among its constituent members, and she gave it a large proportion of her time during a period of eighteen months. The editors have had the use of the results obtained in New York City, which are also to be published separately in full local detail.

The replies to the questions in the first schedule, coming in from all these sources, supplied the material of a preliminary report at the annual meeting of the Federation in June, 1912; and this report was made the basis upon which further suggestions as to certain phases of the inquiry were sought. The second or supplementary schedule was then prepared, embodying a number of interesting and important clues not developed in the first series of questions, and with increased emphasis upon hopeful lines of action as indicated by specific conditions. The response was again thorough, cordial, and general.

It is the universal testimony of those who have participated that the personal and group study of the schedules has been of marked value in arousing workers among girls to the many-sidedness of their problem, and in leading to new and more effectual forms of service. It is hoped that the completed presentment may open the way for further analysis, for fresh experiment, and, above all, for illuminated and comprehensive action.

The editors wish to express their hearty appreciation of the cumulative team work of the settlement residents of the country in connection with this study; and desire particularly to thank numerous friends outside the settlements for their helpful and often precious contributions.

South End House, Boston.

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FOREWORD

Because the modern industrial city is so new that we are as yet ignorant of its ultimate reactions upon human life, the following study should be valuable, as a revelation of the impressions and scars which this new type of city makes upon that most highly sensitized material, the body and soul of the young girl at the moment she is most keenly conscious of her surroundings.

That the study is confined to those girls who live in the most crowded quarters of the city, and who work in its least skilled industries, makes it none the less significant; for the young girl is quite as sensitive when she is rudely jostled in noisy tenement houses and factories as she is when sheltered in the silence of woods and country lanes.

These young people, with their newborn instincts, whether walking in the teeming streets or in the open fields, continually test the achievements and short-comings of the life about them, by their own standards of romance as old as the world. At moments they are curiously aloof and critical, and they are prone to feel separated from their elders by a great gulf which is, indeed, seldom crossed unless the elders make the first effort.

Settlements have always hoped to know something of the inner lives of their constituents, realizing that such knowledge must be based upon years of simple companionship and mutual understanding. In so far as the conclusions in this study show sympathetic insight, that mission has been successful.

It is possibly in keeping with the multiple object of the study, that it records the experiences of more than two thousand people who are daily concerned with

the welfare of young girls, and that these experiences gathered from a score of cities fall so easily into a composite impression.

JANE ADDAMS.

HULL HOUSE,
CHICAGO.

Young Working Girls

CHAPTER I

CAUSES WITHIN AND WITHOUT

We all move insecurely in a variety of situations to-day because old sanctions have been weakened, and no compelling motives have been developed to take their place. The confusion of standard among adolescent girls, which is everywhere noticed and commented upon, is after all but one aspect of this more general confusion.

Confusion of standard.

Women in particular have not only had to meet the general moral uncertainty of the age, but in addition have had to face the serious moral problems forced upon them by the reorganization of their sphere of life through its invasion by modern in-

dustry. Young women of every class — those folded in homes above the average as surely as their sisters born and bred in working-class neighborhoods — have been affected by the unrest which has been created through this situation; though domestic, industrial, and recreative conditions have conspired to intensify the strain which is placed on working girls.

Causes of confusion: (1) deficiencies of family oversight;

Chief among such is the pronounced deficiency and weakness of family life. The average working-class home in the city is so physically inadequate that it automatically produces ill health, nervous tension, and a desire to escape, all of which are predisposing causes of moral laxness. Even more serious is the fact that mothers and fathers often fail in appreciation of their larger responsibilities. Thus little effort is made to prepare the daughter for the opportunities and dangers of her work in life, and the girl has constantly to face situations

unfamiliar to herself, and even to her mother, at a time when her judgment is unformed, and her emotions least controlled. Training and knowledge, which should be given in the home, have to be picked up in the street. Only infrequently do parents consciously organize the home to protect the daughter from herself and others, to minister wisely to her physical and recreative needs, and to sustain her in those vague reachings-out after a larger and fuller life which are characteristic of adolescence.

(2) poorly organized industry;

Industry, too, in requisitioning the young life of the nation to its service, and in failing to safeguard it properly while so engaged, is at fault. Young girls are herded into overcrowded, inadequately lighted, and badly ventilated workrooms and stores, made to assume taxing muscular positions, forced to spend their strength beyond reason, and held to tasks without regard to the trying period of adolescence or the

needs associated with periodicity. The lowered vitality which results from premature or ill-regulated work is universally believed to be a potent cause of moral evil, a danger made all the greater by the suddenness with which a hitherto sheltered child is thrown on her own resources and made responsible for her fate. Employers of young girls have not assumed anything like a fair share of responsibility in properly organizing the environment in which work must be performed, nor in providing adequate oversight while young women are in their charge.

A serious cause of lowered standards is to be found in the disintegration of neighborhood life in towns and cities. When the family moves frequently, or when the neighborhood affiliations are lost amid the influx of a new and alien population, the outlook of the family on the community is suddenly narrowed, and the vigorous moral

(3) neighborhood breakdown;

responses which go with vital participation in local loyalties are no longer called out. Time and energy are lost in running about to former habitats to keep up old acquaintance. There are many instances of girls who have been demoralized upon moving into bad neighborhoods. The loss of the sustaining power in old traditions, in the sympathy of old neighbors, and in the desire to stand well in the eyes of those one knows best, withdraws powerful motives of righteousness. In time young people become accustomed to making casual and promiscuous acquaintances rather than seeking friendship. The "downtown" habit, a sufficiently serious threat to young life even without the loss of proper neighborhood attachments, is intensified.

(4) commercialized recreation;

The intensity of desire with which the adolescent girl craves pleasure, and the conditions under which it is gratified, are further potent causes for confusion of standards. The

working girl necessarily seeks her recreation in the evening, and thus unduly prolongs the hours during which strain is placed on muscles and nerves; contracts bad emotional habits; and weakens body and spirit alike. The widespread commercialization of every form of recreation, and its transference from the restraints and guardianship of the home and neighborhood to that no-man's-land which in every city is devoted to commercialized pleasure resorts, further emphasize the evil results of ineffective home life and badly organized industry. The purveyors of recreation exhaust all means of awakening the desire for their wares; the young girl naturally craves a share in the profusion of pleasure which she sees everywhere on sale; and, as such participation only too often calls for the more ample resources of some man, the way is opened for moral compromise.

These extraneous tendencies toward moral confusion are greatly reinforced by

the physical changes and the mental excitation which characterize adolescence. Among the more compelling motives of this period is the desire to discover and experiment with one's powers and to impress one's self on the world. Acutely conscious of her individuality, the girl desires that it be recognized and appreciated. Driven to self-expression, she wavers between day-dreams and sudden spurts of energy which drive her to endeavor to do everything and to be everything. Most of all she hopes to accomplish something important which will secure her power and admiration; and this impulse leads to much of the unrest, desire for variety, showy dressing, loud talk, and apparent lack of manners which so often characterize the adolescent girl. Parallel with the desire for recognition is a craving for freedom and independence, which in industrial neighborhoods is unduly emphasized by the fact that the girl has become

(5) adolescence itself.

a wage-earner. Instead of assuming adult prerogatives with due deliberation, she often secures a degree of power over her elders which makes her the immediate master of her fate. With these qualities, however, goes a tendency toward introspection and an underlying susceptibility to religious and ethical influence.

A practically overwhelming consciousness of sex, combined with a growing desire for companionship, leads the girl into short-lived and cliquey alliances with those of her own sex, and into various forms of adventure with members of the other sex. She develops an absorbing interest in the individualizing, æsthetic, and associational aspects of dress. She longs to be popular with men, craves a "beau" or "steady," and begins to think of marriage. The longing for companionship adds strength to the natural desire for a "good time," and intensifies her delight in parties, "shows," and dances. Her interest in organization,

however, is less native than is the case with the boy, and has to be awakened by some demonstration of its practical utility.

Side by side with this awakening to self and the complementary other is found an elemental desire to bear burdens, which often lies dormant because it is not called into use. Many girls develop a fine loyalty to any form of work which calls out the best that is in them. The desire ultimately to become proficient in household management is almost universal, though the actual purpose is weak and calls for exceptional sympathy and leadership. Social responsibility is gladly accepted where the motive is made attractive and compelling.

Naturally enough a period of feverish physical, mental, and emotional activity is not distinguished by the more stable qualities. The girl is overinfluenced by impulse, and has not learned to weigh and judge. Haste and inexperience open the way to a multitude of dangers, and her chief need is

for guidance and protection. The tradition of all human experience is in the direction of affording this protection: it is only within a generation that it has tended to be withdrawn. Rightly considered, the wonder is not over the confusion which exists, but that the young life of the nation has kept itself so true and so clean.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATION FOR INDUSTRY

While the glowing possibilities involved in the coming industrial career of the children, and the assistance which they may be expected to render, are unfailing subjects of consideration among working-class families, the proportion of parents who endeavor definitely to prepare their children for an industrial career is very small. The exception occurs in the case of German and Jewish immigrants, who alone seem to understand the increased power which preparation gives. As one result Hebrew girls are everywhere crowding the high and commercial schools, and taking their place beside children of families with a start of one or more generations. Low-grade American families, residual Irish, and the

Attitude of families.

majority of other immigrants, are careless in the matter of preparation; though the children sometimes return of their own accord to the evening school. It may be set down as a law, however, that the lower the family, physically and morally, the earlier the girl has to go to work; with the correlative rule that willingness to provide preparation depends rather on economic status than on judgment or experience, developing automatically as the family acquires a margin to fall back upon.

The two wasted years.

It is the universal consensus of opinion that under present conditions the years between fourteen and sixteen are, in essence, wasted to the girl herself, to the family, and to industry. No one of the parties concerned receives a return commensurate to the effort expended. As only a small proportion of girls earn enough to sustain them, the majority remain in greater or less measure a charge on the family. The girl's enthusiasm for

work, which might have made her a capable operative, is exhausted before she has attained a degree of physical stamina and manual skill to fit her for work of a fair degree of productiveness; and in this industry suffers. But though the years between fourteen and sixteen are of small account to the family and to industry, they can be of supreme importance to education. While irresponsible, the girl is extremely impressionable, and is accessible to influences that could be used to make her powers more highly productive. Her prime need is for restraint, encouragement, and physical, mental, and emotional guidance. These years, therefore, should be released to education for the purpose of building up moral, mental, and physical fiber and of preparing for industry.

Home *vs.* factory.

So damaging are the effects of premature entrance on industry that some social workers hold, as against the factory, and without proper oppor-

tunity in school, that the girl between fourteen and sixteen would gain even by remaining at home. The majority, however, are of the opinion that, taking into consideration the average tenement home and the average tenement neighborhood, they would even, as a bitter last resort, accept the factory. In cases where the mother works out, the girl is too largely placed on her own resources, and is exposed to danger. Where the mother remains at home, the girl would probably have no continuous responsibility, and would idle away her time.

Ordinary school curriculum.

It is also believed that very little gain would be secured if the girl continued to attend a public school, conducted as our schools are at present. The desire to obtain money and the restlessness natural to the period are so strong, that the teaching could not lay hold upon her. Therefore, she had better be engaged in industry,

which at least secures the formation of certain useful habits not as yet inculcated in the public schools. The school, to furnish a sufficient alternative, must evolve a radically new type of teaching adapted to her present capacities and her future needs; which includes the laying of a foundation both for industrial employment and for the career of housewife.

Value of trade schools.

Opinion is divided as to the value of specialized trade preparation as a universal prescription. Many girls are too restless to succeed in a trade school; a large number remain in industry for only a few years; the increasing economic pressure caused by the high cost of living makes early wage earning more and more necessary. It is also feared that compulsory training for specific trades might so narrow and hamper public instruction that the more important cultural motive of preparing for life in its fullness would be lost. Practical instruction that pushed aside the

preparation of the girl for her ultimate life work as wife and mother would necessarily defeat its own ends. It is, therefore, insisted that in connection with every public-school course in trade training, a substantial portion of time be given to the study of domestic science.

There is no question whatever concerning the value of the trade school for those who are prepared to benefit by it. It serves as a bridge between the day school and industry, gives the girl a chance to discover what she is capable of doing, prepares her to face difficulties and to demand better conditions of work, arouses her ambition to succeed, and offers a more definite and self-respecting entrance on industry. It develops the faculties of concentration and application, which are so essential to an industrial career. It raises standards, creates higher ideals of work, gives breadth and vision, and trains in the value of time, attention, courtesy, efficiency, and team

play. Parents very generally are anxious to secure such training for their daughters as soon as it is demonstrated that thus their earning power is increased.

It is the general opinion that young girls seeking positions are often exposed to serious moral risk. The fact that a girl is young, not worldly-wise, and under no special protection, makes it easy for the unscrupulous to take advantage. Naturally there is specially grave danger in approaching hotels, and other places of night resort. Over fifty per cent of the young women interviewed in several recent studies carried on by settlement and other social workers, admit having been solicited while looking for work.

Moral danger in seeking positions.

Perhaps the most common method of seeking work is through companions or friends, and it is customary for boys and young men to secure positions in the factories where they work, for girls known

to them. The results of this practice are at least questionable. Another very common method of seeking work consists of calling at addresses found in the newspaper advertisements, or aimlessly applying wherever a "girl wanted" sign is displayed. A proportion of girls also seek work through the commercial employment bureaus, which are almost universally irresponsible. In a number of cities it has been found that such agencies hardly ever refuse to send girls into the "redlight" districts. Only a small number of girls register with the philanthropic agencies.

Other steps in a programme.

Most social workers question whether a girl should ever seek a position through a newspaper advertisement, or call at employment offices other than those of high-grade philanthropic institutions, unless in the company of an older person. One of the most important next steps in public administration is the regulation of all employment agencies by

law and the development of a type of public employment agency which shall have definite educational standards. In the mean time philanthropic employment organizations should make a business of compiling white lists of factories and shops. Societies should be formed to stand behind the young girl; to see that contracts are carried out; and to prosecute those who attempt to take advantage of her lack of protection. Every effort should be made to extend the present movement to establish vocation bureaus in the public schools. The Board of Education and high-grade employers should unite to safeguard those seeking positions and to prosecute evil-doers. Parents should be brought to see that a vocation is better than a job; and, in general, induced to take a vital interest in the conditions that surround their daughters while they are absent from the home.

CHAPTER III

ENTRANCE ON INDUSTRY

Physical effects.

WHERE the conditions under which work is performed are good, the hours reasonably short, and the task itself congenial, it is generally agreed that girls over sixteen are likely to be physically benefited by entrance into industry; and it not infrequently happens, in the case of those predisposed to nervousness and hysteria, that their health is markedly bettered. Girls of fourteen and fifteen, on the other hand, so frequently become mentally and physically stunted by premature employment, that the majority of participants in the present study believe that girls in this period should never be subjected to the strain. Work of any sort hastens the sense of physical and emotional maturity, which is in itself a

source of danger. The failure to secure outdoor exercise in this period of physical maturing, and the constant use of one set of muscles, is likely to blight and warp the body. The enforced attention demanded by some machine processes results in overstimulation on the one hand, or listlessness and dullness on the other. And where, as in many workrooms, the air is vitiated, the hours long, and the effort itself hard and uncongenial, injuries at once deep-seated and severe are all too frequently fastened upon the worker. As in many another contest with environment the fittest acquire powers of resistance, and survive; the unfit lose their youthful looks, grow thin, pale, and round-shouldered, suffer from backache, eye troubles, and loss of vigor, and drag out a burdened and burdening life.

It is very difficult to compare the advantages and disadvantages of various forms of occupation for adolescent girls, because

conditions vary in different communities and within the same industry. The factory has decided advantages as a place of work; though box factories, candy factories, and laundries are everywhere condemned as unfit for adolescent girls. The laws governing the conditions under which women may work; the location of the factory; the length of the working day, the regularity of work, and the number of holidays; the placing and condition of toilets, rest-rooms and lunch-rooms, — are all of prime importance in determining the appropriateness of each particular factory as a place of work for adolescent girls.

Advantages and disadvantages of: (1) factories;

Among the disadvantages of the factory are the stress of work, often under cramped and extremely confining conditions; the mental stagnation which results from the characteristic operations called for by extreme specialization; the nervous strain incident to piece-work; the constant dan-

ger of accident; the relatively low pay; and the hardship caused by seasonal change. The men and women with whom the factory operative is brought into touch are a critical factor in determining the fitness of any particular form of work. Though the factory is morally more protected than certain other employments, conditions are far from what they should be. In many places girls work side by side with, or in the near vicinity of, men. They sometimes become careless in their conduct, slack in manners and conversation, immodest in dress, and familiar to a degree that lays them open to danger. In many factories, too, girls of loose or even bad morals work in close association with children just starting their industrial career. Among these there are always some who deliberately endeavor to win others to their own practices. The sure lowering of tone which such companionship brings about may be the least of the resultant

evils. With a few exceptions, the degree of supervision and the character of the direction accorded young girls in factories are not adequate. At the very least, employers should use greater care in selecting their operatives; should place young girls as far as possible in rooms by themselves, in the charge of responsible women overseers; and should guard against promiscuous mingling during working and noon hours.

Despite the disadvantages which have been noted, the factory is universally considered the most available place of work for the average girl. The organization in factories is constantly being improved, there is more and more attention being given to sanitation and ventilation, and benefit features of various kinds are becoming common. The factory operative is not forced to spend an undue sum of money on dress; the work itself offers a chance for occasional visiting and recrea-

tion; there is less likelihood of confusion of standard than is the case where the girl works in a store or office; the growth of trade unions among women is bringing girls into constructive comradeship with one another, and enabling them to secure more equable conditions of work.

The department store is universally believed to represent a dangerous type of employment for adolescent girls. Taken at its best, we may admit that the work is varied and refining; that it provides excellent training in neatness, quickness, and courtesy; and that the chance of direct promotion, the reasonably short hours, the superior social standing, and the provision of rest-rooms, lunch-rooms, and other welfare features, all represent real values. The disadvantages, however, are grave and numerous. The work is trying on mind and body; the environment is exciting and confusing; the physical conditions are only moderately good;

(2) department stores;

wages are low; there is little opportunity for the development of character; and the outlook on the future is far from encouraging. In addition the girl has to live in the highly developed atmosphere of temptation to expenditure with which every shop is charged; necessarily meets the customers on their most superficial side; is almost inevitably tempted to adopt the false standards which she sees everywhere about her, and hence to become dissatisfied with simple, wholesome living. These demoralizing influences are further intensified by the practical requirement of the shop management that a considerable portion of her income be spent on dress. Worst of all, the girl is inevitably exposed to moral temptation under many forms. She is open to the solicitation of employers, heads of departments, and other men employees; her work locates her in such a way that she may with fatal ease become involved with traveling men, procuresses,

and other designing people; she is often thrown with companions among her own ranks who are already committed to evil. Under conditions such as these a girl must possess moral stamina to guard herself against taint.

Office work is more or less out of the range of the average girl from working-class neighborhoods, because it requires at least a partial high-school education, with special training besides. The office secures the advantages of a refined environment; the work itself has cultural value, awakens responsibility, develops character, and promotes standards of achievement; hours are easy; pay is more generous than in the case of the store and the factory; incentive to advance is quite general; and social standing is better than that in any other available form of work open to girls.

(3) offices;

There are dangers, however, which need to be guarded against. The girl is thrown

into direct relations with a few people, and while the men with whom she is associated are not so intentionally unscrupulous as in the case of many dry-goods establishments, it is increasingly clear that they are often a "little too human." The office in which a considerable number of girls are employed is the safest, especially where there is a competent woman as office manager.

(4) housework.

Housework is generally frowned upon, and there are few settlement workers who know any number of girls so engaged. The house-worker is cut off from her family; the hours are long and irregular; there is only slight opportunity for recreation, and that unsupervised; holidays are few; the work takes the girl out of the main currents of modern life, and isolates her in a back eddy; she is constantly conscious of a galling lack of freedom, independence, and consideration from others, and of a distinctly low-

ered social standing; and the danger of moral contamination is even greater than in many other forms of work. On the other hand, the girl who chooses housework is likely to be better housed, better clothed, and better fed than she would be at home; secures training in a vocation natural to women; in proportion to her capacity is relatively more highly paid than in any other form of work; and almost universally establishes a better type of home life when she marries than is possible for the factory or shop girl.

Any form of work will increase a girl's capacity and character somewhat. Whether or not the increase is in proportion to the effort expended, depends on the nature of the work and the attitude of the girl toward her task. As a rule the girl does not enter on work in the same serious spirit which distinguishes the boy. She finds it hard to free her mind from the thought of

Character development through industry.

marriage, and therefore does not look upon her employment as one that is likely to extend indefinitely into the future. Only a very small proportion of girls see in their work anything but a makeshift. Yet those who regard it as worthy of their best initiative often develop the beginnings of an admirable sort of executive ability. In commercial establishments where there is opportunity to demonstrate capacity, and to rise in the scale within the occupation itself, there are frequent instances of women employees who by dint of intelligence and character gain posts of very high responsibility. Remarkable characters are found in every kind of industry, and nothing in recent social phenomena is more striking than the group of young women who have come out of the factories to lead in the organization of women's trade unions.

On the other hand, a great part of the work carried on by women is stultifying rather than inciting, and in the long run

actually undermines character. Yet the degree of accuracy required in the crudest form of employment calls for a certain moral accomplishment; the general experience gained often makes the girl more liberal in her ideas, offers her a wider basis of comparison, and affords wholesome human competition; and, provided her service is not continued through too many years, is of real value in preparing her to be the counselor and guide of her children.

Deepening the girl's interest in her work.

At the majority of settlements much time and thought are devoted by club leaders to the task of building up the interest of each adolescent club member in her work. It is the universal testimony, however, that in the case of those girls who have left school at fourteen, with no training for work and no preferences in the matter of occupation, little can be done to develop interest. After a girl has wandered from factory to factory for a year or two, such effort is

almost hopeless. The best way of securing a response is to induce the girl to obtain training preliminary to entering work; to assist her in securing a position where the process is interesting, the conditions good, the compensation on a rising scale, and where there is a spirit of comradeship among the workers. In certain instances a knowledge of the processes of manufacture from beginning to end of the article on which she works increases the girl's interest in her particular part of the work. Lectures and talks intended to help her see the relation of her work to industry in the large are often stimulating. A knowledge of the industrial revolution in England, of the significance of the introduction of machinery, and of the aims of trade unionism, make the girl not only more intelligent but more productive than she would otherwise have been. Most settlements provide a certain number of activities which are specifically organized to advance the effec-

tiveness of the girl as a worker. Club training in itself makes for personal and industrial standards; thus young stenographers are often helped in their English and letter-writing. Most clubs provide numerous talks on clothing, health, and conduct. Experienced business men and women give addresses on the conditions of success. Especially powerful with young girls is the knowledge that a well-liked club leader is observing them and is concerned for their progress.

CHAPTER IV

NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD THE HOME AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

General influence of entrance into industry.

THE pay envelope — at once the supreme symbol and potent instrument of newly gained power — and the whole realm of fresh experience that grows out of entrance into industry unite to create a revolution in the girl's attitude toward herself and toward life. Her personality expands with almost startling rapidity; and her opinion of herself as an independent and all-conquering being is reinforced by evident material accomplishment. She gives expression to this new-found personal and industrial capacity by more startling forms of dressing her hair and by arraying herself in more compellingly attractive clothing. Her

manner becomes more pronounced; she assumes a "grown-up" attitude, and begins to treat her juniors and sometimes her seniors in such a way as to emphasize her possession of a stake in the world; she affects a spirit of bravado, and desires to be distinguished for "dash" and "go." She becomes increasingly interested in the big life about, and dreams of a speaking part in the great drama.

The desire to test the world often leads to frequent changes of position and companions. Interest and belief in the womanly ideal is likely to be adversely affected by the new standards of efficiency and power which industry holds before her. She seeks a few more or less decidedly intimate attachments with girl comrades, for purposes defensive and offensive; and the rapidity with which she oftentimes enters into free association with men results in breaking down the delicacy of her moral reserve.

Changes so serious as these naturally have their effect on the girl's attitude toward the home. She recognizes that she could not, even if she would, explain the difference which entrance on this new realm of infinite variety has made, though she feels it to the roots of her being; she is quite sure, however, that the members of her family do not understand. The outside world and the home may become two almost antagonistic phases of her existence; at the very best the home is no longer the center of the world, but has become chiefly a place in which to eat and sleep. The girl accepts the standards of the new world rather than those of the home. Not infrequently she becomes discontented with her home and ashamed of her parents. She chafes under authority, becomes impatient with narrow conditions, desires to escape discomfort, seeks freedom from home responsibilities, demands more in amusement

Changed attitude toward the home.

and clothing, becomes dictatorial toward younger brothers and sisters. She begins to enter into hitherto forbidden amusements, and justifies herself by the claim, "I am earning my own living and can do as I please."

The home changes, too, in its relation toward the girl. She has suddenly become powerful where shortly before she was weak. The family and the neighbors now respect her as a self-supporting individual and are ready to grant her some leeway. The house furnishing may be modified to suit her ideas, and some regard is paid to her desires in the matter of food and clothing. In cases where the family life is good, the girl practically always develops a spirit of coöperation and rejoices to have a share in building up a finer type of family life; she begins to realize the cost of living; she gains a new respect for what the achievement of her parents represents. Unfortunately,

Changed attitude of the home toward the girl.

however, the homes which call out this attitude are in an extremely small minority.

Changed attitude of the girl toward the neighborhood.

The neighborhood, too, suddenly shrinks in size and importance: the girl sees that it is not the world; and she begins to question it. New standards acquired at work and the opportunities which the possession of money brings lead her into other neighborhoods, and she begins to take an outsider's point of view of the local community. The old neighborhood ties in which the family had its setting are likely to be broken; acquaintances are scattered in various portions of the city; and the girl lives in the excitement of new blendings of companionship and constantly changing stamping-grounds of pleasure. She often becomes ashamed of her neighborhood and looks down on it in her own mind; becomes caustic in her judgments on the neighbors; takes on a veiled su-

periority of manner toward her old associates; and remarks to her new friends, "I don't go with anybody round here now."

If, as is so frequently the case, the quarter is often disparaged by outsiders, she may feel herself heavily handicapped with the opprobrium which such a background involves. Instead of desiring to better her environment, she longs to be rescued from it. Marriage is her usual solution, but marriage with the imaginative hero who will place her where her dreams point. Under this impulse the majority of girls prefer the company of the unknown men they meet at work rather than of those living in their own community. Yet many of them, after a time, take up with their old neighborhood associations, especially if they have kept touch with some local clique which sympathizes with them; and a dance is generally sufficient for reëntrance. That there is a decided tendency in this

direction is seen by the number of working girls who return to settlement clubs which they have deserted for a year or two.

CHAPTER V

INADEQUATE HOME LIFE AS A CAUSE OF MORAL STRAIN

One of the most powerful causes of the present lowered physical and moral standard so often noticed among working girls is found in the material breakdown of the home. Overcrowding has its results in stunted growth, lowered vitality, retarded mentality, frequent headache, nervousness conscious and unconscious, and the conflagration-like spread of tuberculosis and other diseases. Morally it breaks down the feeling of privacy, and hence brings on loss of self-respect, of modesty, of order, of neatness. In general its dehumanizing effects are seen in failing amenities, in the disintegration of the family, in a tendency to focus life on the streets, in increasing

Overcrowding.

habits of criminality, and in the prevalence of every phase of low-grade citizenship.

Among the more alarming aspects of overcrowding is the necessity that several persons share the same sleeping-room, and, very commonly, that three or more persons occupy the same bed. The disturbance within and without the house and the universal lack of ventilation result in lowered vitality, nervousness, irritation, depression, uncleanliness, and the dissemination of disease. Hardly a married couple in any crowded neighborhood have a room to themselves, and children sleep with their parents up to the approach of youth. It is almost inevitable that children should come to know the innermost reserves of marriage, as a result of which many are led to surrender their chastity and even to participate in gross immoralities. It is universally agreed, however, that the damage is nothing like so great as might be

expected; and that many girls are not only not conscious of lack of rest, but are so habituated to congested conditions that they are unwilling to sleep alone.

The food of the average working-class family is rather improper than insufficient. The stores in industrial neighborhoods are almost universally poor; flies abound; oftentimes the food is sold in a condition not fit for consumption. Meals are generally ill-prepared and needlessly expensive; they are almost always unattractively served; and too much is spent on crude luxuries. Much undernourishment is due to a dietary made up largely of bread and pastry, with unlimited tea and coffee. It is not unusual for the vessels containing these beverages to remain unemptied and unwashed over considerable periods. Meals are hastily eaten, and this fact has its certain ill effects on health. Food.

Many working girls assist at home in the evening to the extent of washing their

own clothing and helping with the dishes. Most of them do as little as they can, and the majority of mothers try to spare the working daughter. Many club leaders feel that the working daughter ought to do some housework. It should not be carried on until late in the evening, and should be compensated for by adequate and enjoyable recreation.

Housework after the day's task.

It appears that the chief cause for the breakdown of standards among girls is to be found in the prevalence of a type of family life which is sadly lowering that average standard which has been known as the "American home." And the very heart and core of this failure centers in the character of the parents. The working-class father fails in interest and sympathy with his children. Such interest as he manifests is rather general than particular and individual; he has no deep desire to

Family deterioration: (1) the father;

share the experience of the child; he does not appreciate his daughters as personalities. He is a ruler, generally not positively unkind, though often stern and unsympathetic, and seldom if ever close to the heart of the family. Not infrequently he is something of a martinet, with a liking to boss and be obeyed. He takes little active part in the family life; he has small influence compared with the mother, though in a crisis his word prevails. Occasionally he is brutal, especially when he becomes intoxicated. Cruelty, however, finds its victims largely among young children, for when the girl becomes a wage-earner she seems to be protected from physical harm. Yet a lack of responsibility is sometimes shown which amounts to cruelty, as where much-needed medical treatment is refused, or where the girl is forbidden to entertain friends, or where innocent and necessary forms of recreation are not allowed. Immigrants, on the whole, seem

to exercise a more considerate family oversight than the average among the low-grade American-born. German and Irish fathers are the most interested in their daughters as individuals, and the Jews next.

There is a general feeling that fathers frequently hold their children in the light of natural purveyors; though exploitation is rather family than personal. The tradition that the daughter is a family possession to be relinquished only at marriage is as strong among working people as it is among the well-to-do. Exploitation for family purposes is universal among the Italians, with whom the children are definitely considered an economic asset; and the same is largely true in the case of the Irish. While the Syrians do not so commonly send their girls out to work, they place heavy burdens upon them within the home. The Jew expands this motive, giving it a more far-sighted form, in his struggles to educate his children; and in some de-

gree frees himself from it by his very efforts.

The girl's earnings are appropriated, especially among immigrants, in order to buy a house, to rent a larger tenement, to care for a growing family, to furnish a parlor, or otherwise to enlarge the family resources. The evil is not at all in what is done, but rather in the spirit which prompts it. Most girls rejoice to be able to contribute to the family; it is only when parents neglect to make the child a partner in their plans that there is likely to be hard feeling. No individual likes to be merely a pawn in another's game, with the feeling that as soon as some coveted end is secured and paid for she no longer counts, and is in a way to be cast aside.

The mother is always humanly interested in the children, though she is often almost powerless before the problem presented by the working daughter. Her ineffectiveness is in

(2) the mother;

part due to lack of experience in the fundamentals of modern life; she does not understand the environment in which the daughter moves, nor the particular temptations of to-day. Nearly all mothers, whether foreign-born or American, are almost altogether without the range of the dominant interests of their working daughters. The mothers were brought up in a different age and in a different world; the spiritual ideals of their country and time may even cry out against this age. Their standards are often wholly inept, and they find themselves incapable of supplying that advice which would meet the daughter's more modern experience and common sense. Among many instances in which the mother's failure to sympathize with the daughter resulted in tragedy, may be mentioned the case of a girl who ran away with a young man because she was not allowed any time for recreation. The mother had always worked hard and felt

that it was normal and right that her child should do likewise. Another mother practically drove her two daughters into lodging-houses because she found it impossible to sympathize with their overwhelming desire for further education. She wanted every possible penny in the treasury of the family: the two girls were irresistibly drawn by the lure of self-culture and self-advancement.

Equally damaging in its effect on the adolescent girl is the mother's failure to organize the family life in such a way as to promote the rounded growth of the children. In many families — following ancient tradition — the father represents the stern and autocratic side of the family government, the mother acts as a go-between or buffer for the children. She is, therefore, divided between placating her husband and getting the children what they want. Under the stress of this difficult relation, she gives up trying to meet

problems, and adjusts the family order with the least possible immediate friction to all concerned. Too busy or too overwrought to make herself vitally a part of the girl's life, the daughter seeks other companionship and gives her confidence to strangers. Some slightly older person may be chosen as adviser and confidant, whose influence then outweighs that of the home. Thus family conditions often conduce to those outbursts of homo-sexuality which constitute a more or less morbid tendency among adolescent girls. Here it becomes a cause of friction, altogether deprives the girl of the outlook of an older woman on life, and frequently keeps her from responding to older people altogether.

This failure in sympathy and interest is often emphasized by the attitude of the up-to-date daughter toward her mother. Self-will and loss of regard lead many girls to take advantage of the mother, deceiving her concerning their movements and way

of life. Untruthfulness is extremely common, and a very large proportion of older girls habitually lie to their parents. In time the working girl comes to lose respect for the home-staying woman. Her heroines are in the working world. She envies either the rich who do nothing, or the high-class business woman: the home-builder seems prosaic and unromantic. In immigrant families it is sadly frequent that the daughter becomes ashamed of the mother, who seems to be all that is un-American. As one girl complained, "She talks so funny and wears a wig, and does such queer things, I could not go out with her." Girls even leave home and board because they feel that their parents belittle them before others.

Part of the difficulty between the mother and daughter is due to the feeling of the times about the moneymaker. It is generally believed among girls — and this belief is constantly reëchoed in their ears

— that the wage-earner has the right to a very considerable degree of personal liberty. The girl who earns her living feels that she should not be restrained. This attitude is frequently acquiesced in by the mother; who knowing her own ignorance, and her inability to give the time and energy necessary to looking after her daughter's affairs, shifts responsibility on the girl by allowing her to come and go as she pleases. A certain portion of the difficulty is also due to the selfishness of girls, who might frequently give something more of sympathy and time to lightening the burdens of the mother, and providing her an occasional opportunity to swing into the currents of modern life.

(3) brothers and sisters;

The relations between the girl and her brothers and sisters are, in general, less helpful than might perhaps be expected. Where there are not too many children, where the divergence of ages is not too great, and where the home

is something more than a bedroom and a lunch-counter, the reciprocity between brothers and sisters is often fine, and the adolescent girl is ably assisted in holding her standards. Thus it not infrequently happens that the children are in better touch with one another than with their parents, and carry on excellent team work in building up the home. The younger ones are helped to a better education, a better position in life, a greater degree of recreation, than that which fell to the lot of the working young people, and the whole standard of the family is raised.

Where there is constant pressure of poverty, the family relationship is often sordid. The older sons and daughters lend their influence to getting the younger children into work at the earliest possible age. The girls of the household are forced to give way unduly to the boys, and even go the length of supporting them in idleness and providing them with money to

spend in saloons. Brothers hardly ever assume a fair share of the responsibility of keeping up the household, or caring for aged or incapacitated parents, or helping younger children. The whole burden is all too frequently thrown on the girls, who are impelled to overdo, and often to sacrifice the opportunity for a home of their own.

(4) boarders.

A considerable number of families take boarders to eke out income, although this custom varies with the city and the nationality. The practice is always evil. At its best it emphasizes both the quantitative and qualitative effects of overcrowding within the family; where it is carried to such an extent that the stranger is herded into the family sleeping-rooms, it almost always leads to the breakdown of modesty. It not infrequently results in immorality, sometimes of the grossest sort. The boarder is generally a foreigner, and hence looked down upon by the American-

ized young people, and when he takes sides in the family difficulties, as often happens, further friction is aroused. There are not a few social workers who believe that the practice of taking boarders should be regulated by law.

The girl as a contributing member of the family.

The fact that the girl has become a wage-earner, automatically makes her a co-operating member of the family group. The great majority of girls turn over their income without question to the family, and are proud and happy to be able to do so. Among the Jews, the Irish, and some other nationalities, it is quite customary for the father, the daughters, and the sons, all to hand over their pay envelopes unopened to the wife and mother; one of the most striking demonstrations in modern life of the fundamental power of the family tie. Here the cash nexus, lifted above sordidness because it represents the entire resource of the family group, stands forth as at once

a demonstration and a symbol of the ineradicable force of a spiritual bond.

There is widespread agreement of testimony that, on the whole, this custom of handing over the income is a good one. A girl's wages hardly ever cover the entire cost of her living; she is still in reality a dependent member of the family. The fact that the income is contributed to the home gives the moral right of support when for any reason she is out of a position, a right frequently spoken of by the daughters themselves. The girl usually receives some portion of her income for spending money, fifty cents a week being mentioned as an average sum. It is the universal experience also that the girl gives very little thought to the value and use of income. She does not know the real extent of her power as a worker, and usually has very hazy ideas on the value of money. Where she lives at home the mother plans the daughter's expenditure on the basis of her broader

experience. Where she is thrown entirely on her own resources or is permitted to expend her income, she usually lives beyond her means, and spends her money so as to secure only part of its value.

There is sound opinion to the effect that the practice of turning all the income into the home should be qualified when the girl enters the latter part of the age period under consideration. The family frequently fails to recognize that the girl is entering adult life, and should be indulged in a more generous scale of living. Her increased wage often seems pure gain, and through it she sometimes becomes permanently committed to an undue share of the burden of supporting aged parents and younger children. Thus the proportion of wage that should go for clothing and recreation is overmuch curtailed. While parents are often just to their daughters in providing absolute material necessaries, they fail to see that to provide

for recreation only as an exceptional luxury is likely to lead to alternatives which promote the daughter's moral undoing. An intolerable situation arises in cases where the girl becomes engaged and extreme stress is used to keep her within the family for the sake of her income. Desperation and outright immorality are the frequent consequence.

Few girls assist personally in the detailed improvement of the order of the home. On the whole, the family does not take kindly to the leadership of daughters; though there are striking instances, especially among the Irish, where a girl does much to bring the family into larger and better quarters and adds up-to-dateness in furniture. The great majority of girls have to look forward to the time when they shall secure a home of their own before putting their ideas into operation. Increasing experience indicates that a great proportion of them do succeed in making

better homes for their children than those in which they themselves have grown up.

The family sense of responsibility for the girl who goes to work is universally admitted to be greatly undeveloped, and the majority of parents are careless concerning the place and conditions under which the daughter works. Bad influences are accepted as the responsibility of the boss or of government. At best, parents are only occasionally anxious or a little puzzled. The struggle for a living is so keen that everything else is unimportant. The vital question is that of putting the girl at work; her safety is merely incidental. "I do not know where she works, but I know what she gets a week," fairly represents the attitude of the average parent.

Family responsibility for conditions of work;

In the majority of families it is literally true that the parents have but a vague notion where the daughter works. The

exceptions to this rule are the Syrians and Italians. Sometimes a brother or sister knows; though this again is a matter of chance. Few parents inquire into the moral conditions surrounding the daughter's employment, or the type of work-people with whom she is associated. Occasionally physical conditions are noted, provided they result in a cold, or accident; but only because they have become costly.

The great majority of parents also know nothing about what happens to their daughters as they go to and return from work. At first, some account is taken of time, and the family is likely to be anxious if the girl does not come home at a reasonable hour. But soon, especially if there is occasional over-time work or some plausible excuse, the parents become quiescent, feeling either careless or helpless. The father is generally more insistent than the mother, because he fears moral lapse.

He does not wish to have the family disgraced; though as to any less matter he is likely to be little concerned.

Parents take somewhat more responsibility upon themselves for the daughter's time after working hours, although here, too, the general tendency is in the direction of carelessness. The majority of parents are uncertain where their daughters spend their evenings; and, unless they are very late, little question is aroused. There is general acquiescence in the moving-picture show, one performance a week being considered a very meagre allowance. Many parents have a vague fear of dances. A girls' club, whether it be by itself or is part of a settlement system, is always considered proper; but club appointments are sometimes used by the girls themselves as pretexts under which to go elsewhere. It is worth repeating that all efforts of parents to guard their daughters are complicated by the

of recreation.

restiveness which wage-earning girls feel under question or restraint.

Methods of developing responsibility.

It is the universal opinion that the main line for the solution of the problem of family responsibility lies in the education of parents. This fundamental service should be rendered principally by the school and the settlement. From the very beginning settlements have acted as informal vocational advisers, and within the past few years many houses have set apart the time of a resident who devotes herself to that service. In consultation with the parents the effort is made to map out the girl's career for a period of from six to ten years, based on the natural qualifications required for those occupations which make a special appeal to the girl and her parents, on the degree of preparation required, on the age at which the girl can take up the chosen occupation most advantageously, and on such of its desirable or undesirable features

as require consideration. Once the girl has a position, the curiosity of the parents is aroused concerning the name of the firm, the street location, the means of ingress and egress, the sanitary conditions, the personality of the boss, the number and kind of men employed, the prospects of promotion, the use made of the lunch-hour, and the girl's companions at work, at lunch, and returning home. Certain club leaders distribute white lists of shops and employers to the parents; make a practice of loaning books such as "The Long Day"; urge the family to sacrifice with and for the girl until she obtains the right kind of a position; and take mothers to visit the scenes of their daughters' work and recreation, good and bad conditions and influences being pointed out. Residents of settlements should make increasing efforts to become acquainted with the entire family of every girl club member. For whenever a club leader fails to develop the family

interest back of each girl in her club, she loses a precious opportunity. Families, too, should be brought together as families under settlement auspices, and they should be encouraged to attend parks, dances, and recreation centers as a unit.

Newspapers might profitably make common cause with social workers and school teachers in bringing the seriousness of the situation before parents. Vocational guides should not only give their services to finding positions for young people, but should make the connection between the school and the home, and educate the parents to their duties. School nurses and trained social-service visitors should be employed to keep in touch with homes; clergymen, teachers, and other responsible people should be induced to devote some part of their time to the task of enlightening parents; neighborhood exhibits with moving pictures showing the risks to which girls are exposed should be given; children

should be encouraged in every possible way to make confidants of their parents; and finally the family responsibility for the girl should be increased by raising the age at which she may go into employment.

Value of good neighborhood life.

Good neighborhood life provides friends and companions at home, keeps the life of the girl within its normal setting, and constitutes an essential source of moral safety. Every real neighborhood surrounds its young women with a measure of chivalry, and expects them to live up to its instinctive ideals. The average girl is sustained by the normal, legitimate expectations of some at least of her family and its supplementary circle of friends; and is moved by the criticism of these peers of hers. The whole neighborhood background is impressive with suggestion of the standards which have thus year after year been created.

When she goes outside the restraint and stimulus of the neighborhood, she opens

herself to dangers both from within her own nature and from the new environment. Every effort should, therefore, be made to bring the girl by a gradual process into the broader incitements of life, so that she may not have to face the mentally alluring and overbalancing effects of a number of new experiences apart from those home and neighborhood ties by which character is vitally sustained.

Lineaments of a good home.

It is easily evident that practically all the sources of moral contamination to which girls are exposed find an approach through some failure or inadequacy in home and family life; and that the home, therefore, marks the chief point at which constructive social work must center. What, then, have we a right to demand of the working-class home? In the first place, the physical equipment of the household should be up to the average of what the income of the family can provide. The food should be

both good and abundant, the rooms sufficiently numerous to allow each member of the family a certain degree of privacy and to insure a fair night's rest, and the home absolutely released from any necessity of taking boarders. The possession of a piano and some music is helpful. The father and mother should be just, sympathetic, unselfish, good-natured, and have some of the results of education. The prime requisite in the father is ability to earn a fair income; firmness on the larger questions of principle; and willingness really to participate in family life. The good mother must be a thrifty and capable housewife, in possession of stable moral standards, and with time and energy to give to the needs of her children. It is the universal feeling that she ought to belong to a club and have some contact with the outside world. The régime of the home should be based upon regular habits; recognition of the responsibility of each

member; system, neatness, and a fair share of individual belongings. The group should be welded together by an interchange of ideas and experience, by home training in moral issues, by the interest of all in one another, by frequent family parties and picnics, by the recognition and observance of family anniversaries, and by religious unity. Applying this standard with every allowance, the highest percentage of good homes among tenement families in the judgment of the most optimistically inclined coöperator in the present study is fifty per cent. A few replies were received from workers who felt the situation so disheartening that they guessed as low as one per cent. The average of many hundreds of estimates, made by social workers with regard to their own communities, fell below ten per cent.

CHAPTER VI

A BETTER FAMILY SETTING

Most settlements devote a great deal of time and effort to the structural upbuilding of family life. Prenatal nursing, though still relatively undeveloped, has already strengthened the organization of family life in many instances, and much is hoped from this type of service as its possibilities are further developed. It is especially necessary that the leaders in such work definitely set out to reach the father and to secure his intelligent interest in the mother's condition, and in the long-range welfare of the unborn child. Any gains made at this time carry out over the years and become a powerful factor in establishing a sense for the family.

Family team play.

Instruction at the settlement in home-making for the mothers, combined with the visits of resourceful teachers to the home, is found to be among the more successful methods of building up family life. The house-mother who takes pride in the cleanliness, beauty, and comfort of her rooms, the excellence of her food, the charm of her well-set table, generally has little difficulty because of lack of family unity. For one thing, such effort brings mother, father, and children together at meals, which is itself, in this grade of life, an exceptional and almost infallible mark of successful family organization.

The encouragement of simple hospitality, especially when offered to guests who include the whole family in their interest and have the power to awaken group response, often assists in promoting family unity. The celebration of anniversaries, birthdays, and public holidays by the family also lifts its life into consciousness and

symbolizes its strength and reality. The importance of domestic science in all these celebrations centers in the fact that among working people, not less than among the well-to-do, the visible rejoicing is in terms of edibles; a specially sound tendency in the case of a growing family where no expenditure is likely to return such dividends as that which goes into nourishing food.

Once the physical basis for a good home life is secured, the discovery and encouragement of common interests of any kind among the members of the family is most helpful in bringing about group unity. At numerous settlements family ensemble playing is encouraged by urging brothers and sisters to take instruction on different instruments. An investment in pets draws the members of some family groups together. A considerable number of settlements make a specialty of teaching games that can be played at home

without special equipment, or provide a lending library of games. The picture loan has been found to be a strong binding force between parents and children, a special space being set apart for the settlement print. A conscious endeavor is made to promote new interests through the parents as well as through the children, by stimulating the elders to take the children to art museums and to other places of educational recreation.

Many settlement workers encourage parents to assign some specific responsibility in the care of the home to each child. At summer camps, especially, the effort is made to induce boys and girls in their middle teens to assume the care of small brothers and sisters ; a responsibility which, with a little patient oversight, is continued in the city.

Family misfortunes can often be used as a means of unifying the group. The payment of a debt, or the provision of

proper care and opportunity for sick or handicapped, often calls out hitherto unsuspected reserves of strength and feeling; and correlatively, family success sometimes draws the members of the family together. The public exhibition of treasures of craftsmanship in the possession of immigrant families in Boston notably fostered their confidence and pride. The participation of children in neighborhood entertainments, on the one hand, and the revelation of the mother in an unaccustomed rôle at a settlement function, on the other, have created a degree of family appreciation and respect which has been of great utility. The common discussion of hopes and plans for the future, especially if these involve some real advance in the standard of living, naturally becomes a strongly unifying force.

The expedients which we have just considered begin and end within the family circle. There is another sort of

device, which, though the setting is outside the home, is yet arranged to build up its fabric, and to strengthen that inner understanding on which the home rests. The settlement, by organizing always with the family relationship in mind, has been able to secure the participation of various members of the family in a round of activities, and hence to revitalize the common interests of the home. Occasionally the members of the women's clubs invite their husbands to a supper or party, or organize special good times for their children. Mothers are more and more asked to act as chaperones at settlement dances and parties. Girls' clubs invite their mothers to entertainments or parties; cooking classes prepare a meal to which parents, brothers, or sisters are invited; brothers and sisters are encouraged to attend a dancing class together. It is found useful to ask the same speaker to address the women's, the girls', and the boys' clubs,

on an identical subject, so as to furnish an increasing number of topics for family conversation. Certain settlements keep open house at a definite time and encourage the whole family to attend. Settlements and public schools alike encourage mothers and fathers to keep in close touch with the interests of their children in the school and to participate in the meetings of the parents' association. Very useful, also, is the effort of certain settlements to promote family outings and family vacations, by providing picnic grounds and cottages for family occupancy. Here that wonderful reinforcement of personal relationship which outdoor life provides, and which settlements have found so powerful a factor in promoting their own influence, is returned definitely into family channels.

If there is any single point at which practical social work generally is weakest, doubtless it is in securing the interest and support of the father of the family in its

aim and endeavors. Such work is largely in the hands of women, and the tradition that the father is merely a shadow in the background is strong in philanthropy. The editors of this report have experienced great difficulty in securing any substantial testimony upon the relation between father and daughter.

Better understanding between father and daughter;

Resourceful workers among girls are convinced that much more visiting should be done in the evening, in order that the father might be seen and talked with personally. Every effort should be made to appeal to his pride in his women-folk and to induce him to individualize them. Particularly necessary is it to convince him of the inner struggles of the adolescent girl and the difficulties she has to face. Most fathers have no notion of the strength of this storm and stress, though they are grieved when misunderstandings with the daughter arise as a result of their ignorance.

Unfortunately they rarely acknowledge it, and too often the bad feeling which arises from the breaking of the natural bond multiplies with the years. The father should, therefore, be appealed to on the ground of his superior knowledge of the dangers that surround the girl; and his attention should be called to the implications which have to be drawn from facts whose relation to his child he may not have recognized. He should be specifically drawn out and committed on the girl's school career, on the question of vocational opportunity, on her social life and recreational needs. He should be consulted about his daughter's club relations and should receive regular reports concerning her progress at the settlement.

The growth of trade unionism among women has already furnished a bond between father and daughter in many instances, and in certain neighborhoods there are now coming to be cases where the fa-

ther should be stimulated to catch up with his daughter in this respect. Along with all such efforts, of course, must go the striving for shorter hours of work, so that the men of the future may be freed to participate more roundedly in family life.

Equally important is the task of arousing the girl's interest in the father. Certain leaders have been successful by creating more sympathetic insight and a better perspective with regard to the father's place and service in the family, hence promoting the daughter's understanding of the inwardness of the apparently prosaic parent. It is also very useful to instruct the girl in important passing events, especially those which, in their larger significance, have a bearing on local affairs; and to encourage her to go to her father for advice.

Many settlements are appreciating the need of additional male residents and the duty of making the house more attractive to neighborhood men. There should be

clubs for fathers, and the few settlements which have made the beginning of this kind of work bear testimony to its power to strengthen and reinforce the whole scheme of family life.

between mother and daughter.

The mother, also, though not to the same degree as in the case of the father, fails to understand the daughter's point of view, and requires that kind of interpretation which is only possible through the acquaintance which the social worker supplies. The discussion of questions, such as the proportion of the girl's earnings to be used by the family; the denial of desired, and sometimes necessary, clothing; the girl's need of pretty things, especially when they are so temptingly placed before her, an experience which the mother did not have in her youth; the moral temptations which constantly face young girls; the sometimes unjust demands for help in the household after the girl has stood on her feet

all day; the irritation brought on by the mother's constant complaints in regard to her own troubles, — oftentimes overcomes misunderstanding, and brings the mother and daughter together. In the case of the mother, however, this interpretation through conversation is reinforced by the addresses and discussions which go on in the women's clubs, practically all of which have occasional lectures on questions of discipline, recreation, work, and outlook on life. In a number of instances immigrant women are formed into clubs to study English, the better to communicate with their daughters.

Settlement residents also adopt every means in their power to encourage mothers and daughters to seek recreation together. With this object in view entertainments are organized; young and old are engaged in pageants and celebrations; vacation parties which include parents and children are fostered; special effort is made to in-

duce mothers to act as chaperones at social events where the daughter shines.

As in the case of the father, the problem of interpretation faces both ways, and the consensus of testimony is to the effect that it is easier to bring the daughter to appreciate the mother's point of view than the reverse. Many workers among girls encourage them to inquire into the mother's early life, especially in its romantic aspects. They point out the bravery and high resolve involved in immigration; the deep spiritual significance of the hopes and longings of motherhood; the value of old-country customs and observances. The recent appreciation of peasant needlework has raised many mothers in the estimation of their daughters. The growing custom whereby girls' clubs entertain the mothers of members gives opportunity for the girl to see her mother in a fresh setting and under conditions that permit the older woman to

manifest other phases of her personality than the sole accustomed one of the household drudge. It is interesting and significant that librarians and public-school teachers are increasingly sending mothers who seek advice about their adolescent daughters to the settlements, where they can meet leaders of experience in working with girls.

Family recognition of the girl's development.

Though the age period under review in this study divides itself into two equal parts, it is generally conceded to be very difficult if not almost impossible to work out with any degree of sharpness the dividing lines between the earlier and the later stage. As club members reach the age of fourteen, the residents of several settlements, through home visiting, endeavor to make the family appreciate the fact that the girl is no longer a mere child; that her position in the household should be dignified; and that definite responsibilities

should be given her. The mother is encouraged to have patience with the girl's varying and difficult moods, by being reminded that the club leader faces the same difficulties. Again at sixteen it is the custom to have a frank talk on the spirit of youth and the certainty of a budding interest in sex. The family should be made to see that there are serious responsibilities resting upon it with respect to the care of the girl; that they are in duty bound to make the home attractive and to guide her carefully into the relative safety of responsible womanhood.

CHAPTER VII

THE MORALITY OF SEX

Lowering of standards.

OPINION is practically unanimous that for some years there has been a gradual though appreciable tendency toward deterioration in moral tone among a great proportion of adolescent girls in tenement districts. This condition is attributed partly to the general laxity of the age, partly to immigration, and partly to the breakdown of family and neighborhood life. Many young girls fall into immorality because they are unhappy at home, out of sympathy with the other members of the family, hungry for affection, and without any direct outlet for their emotional energies. This unsatisfied inner life, combined with low personal and community standards, leads them into danger. A few morally contaminated girls set an

example which spreads and affects a majority of the young life of the neighborhood; as where a physician in one of the large cities stated that he had taken care of most of the mothers in his locality, not one of whom was immoral; but their daughters were largely so.

There is ground for belief that a large number of girls are morally lax. Very frequently a young woman will carry on illicit relations over a considerable period with a man to whom she is devoted and emerge without catastrophe. "A girl can have many friends," explained one of them, "but when she gets a 'steady,' there 's only one way to have him and to keep him; I mean to keep him long." It is again the common opinion that there is a large number of adolescent girls who involve themselves in immoral relations more or less indiscriminately, believing that if they do not accept money they keep themselves without the sphere of prostitution. Failing

to realize the consequences, many girls in this class sacrifice themselves for a good time, or for presents in the shape of jewelry and clothing. The tendency in this direction is indicated in certain cities by the increasing number of girls from department stores and factories who are treated for venereal diseases in the various dispensaries and hospitals.

Moral lapse is increasingly understood to refer, not to the breaking of the law, but to discovery, and the penalty of lapse is interpreted as misfortune rather than the result of sin. The girl who lapses takes an attitude varying from feigned nonchalance to the deepest shame, which is, however, often chiefly distress over the ostracism involved. And it is the universal experience that the girl who falls finds it almost impossible to regain her self-respect in communities where she is known. While there is need, in tenement neighborhoods, of the wiser experience of to-day in such

cases, concern may well be felt over a gathering undercurrent of sentiment that the girl can count on escaping the larger measure of disgrace if the father of her child marries her.

Public sentiment among girls toward lapse.

At present the sentiment of the average girl toward instances of moral lapse is constantly less censorious. When brought face to face with the practical thing itself in the case of a friend or acquaintance, the individual girl is likely to be ignorant and curious alike, spellbound, shocked, interested, and fascinated. Criticism takes the form of sneers; is rather conventional than sincere and deep-seated; and is not always unmixed with a certain degree of admiration for the success with the other sex which the difficulty implies. Most girls have at best a vague sense of the bearing of lapse on the future, and it is generally felt to be almost impossible to place the matter in such a light that the average

girl will recognize the harm created by moral wrong, except through some actual observation of its bitter results.

Sentiment of the home toward lapse.

The home, too, often fails in its proper moral reaction toward these tragedies. In some homes there is only indifference, provided marriage is the outcome; in others there may be extreme intolerance. There is more often family self-pity than any realization of the failure of the family group itself which such a lapse implies. In most cases the neighborhood attitude is one of mild revulsion toward the man and greater recoil from the woman. It is neither as indifferent on the one hand, nor as indignant on the other, as the family.

Evil beginnings previous to adolescence.

Without exception it is believed that the girl who becomes morally lax has been influenced in that direction before she enters upon the age period under consideration; if not physically, at least in thought. Famil-

iarity with degrading sights and unclean language often affects her character to such an extent that she does not comprehend the significance of her new feelings and desires, and goes astray almost without volition. Children are led into evil by their companions and by older young people, as well as by many forms of suggestion. The seeds of contamination are sown on the streets and in the alleys; in certain candy and other small stores in city neighborhoods, whose vicious proprietors teach some of the worst forms of immorality; in the day schools, and especially in the Sunday Schools; in the very homes of the children. The community has so far failed to take account of the number of sexual perverts at large, and the serious fact that every such individual is likely to be an extremely active center of practically continuous contamination. Though all these influences affect the innocent-minded, yet moral lapse is very seldom to be traced

to lack of knowledge of the risks and consequences of evil. The underlying cause is lack of ideals; the ignorance and carelessness of the families and neighborhood; the failure of parents to live up to their obvious duty.

Moral preparations for this period: (1) the schools;

The girl is in no way prepared intelligently to face the moral dangers which arise in adolescence by the instruction given in the public school. There are a few exceptions to the baldness of this statement, as in the case of children who have been influenced by an exceptional teacher. Yet even those who cite exceptions admit that the school must be radically changed before it will be able to exert real moral influence. Its equipment and instruction must be strengthened at many points. Among next steps to be taken are the installation of decent toilets; the supervision of basements; more home and school visitors with nurse's training, to give their

time to developing a basis of understanding between parent and child; a very much higher grade of teacher; a sound experimental approach to the problem of instruction in matters of sex; the development of a corps of special leaders to take charge of such instruction in the grammar schools; a regular course of studies planned about natural history, hygiene, physiology, science, and home-making; and the multiplication of carefully supervised but democratically organized group activities outside of school hours among boys and girls.

It is the universal sentiment of the contributors to this study that comparatively few girls come under adequate and forceful religious leadership. The Catholic religious organizations make an attempt at sex instruction, although such teaching is in general far from wisely given. Occasionally a leader arises from among the members of a teaching order, or even among the laity, who

(2) the church;

is wonderfully influential; but these stand out as exceptions. Even more, the sects of Protestantism, considering their resources, have failed to affect girls as they should. Of late years the Jewish religious authorities have become much concerned about moral declension among their young people and are striving to develop more effective forms of moral influence. It is undoubtedly true that the relative decay of religion is in itself one very serious cause of moral breakdown; and there is immediate and pressing need of more vital religious teaching on these fundamental questions of character.

(3) the settlement;

Settlements, too, have been lacking in the degree of attention given to specific ethical teaching. This is partly because, to a very great extent, settlement workers belong to forms of faith alien to those of the neighborhood constituency. It is increasingly felt, however, that a sufficient basis of understand-

ing has been reached to permit settlements to enter the field of practical morals without danger of misconstruction of motive. Instruction, however, should be carried on, wherever possible, in coöperation with the religious leaders of the neighborhood; the traditions of the local church should be kept in mind; its particular shade of moral emphasis should be enforced; interest should be developed in its traditions and faith; and every opportunity taken to strengthen those particular moral idealisms which are native to the people.

(4) the home.

The most telling cause of immorality is to be found in the comparative disintegration of the home. In a sense it is encouraging that the large majority of these moral tragedies can be traced to some serious structural disorganization of the family. It is true, however, that a surprisingly small proportion of homes exert positive and constructively sympathetic support in helping

the girl maintain her moral standards. In certain cases the support is positive without being sympathetic, the home standing emphatically for virtue and righteousness, though it does not discerningly safeguard the girl. Even where the moral sense of the family is real, if it is not sufficiently reinforced by a vital religious faith, it may prove quite ineffectual as against the facts of city life.

The helpfulness of instruction in sex hygiene depends chiefly on the instructor. At present the average working girl "knows everything the wrong way," and only instruction based on scientific knowledge can correct this. The subject-matter of instruction should not be predominantly physical, but rather ethical and spiritual; and direct sex instruction should make up the smallest part of the teaching. The definite problem is that of building up a sound coherent attitude toward life and

Value of instruction in sex hygiene.

human nature; of lessening the stress and hardship of living, so that boys and girls can realize the best that is in them; of demonstrating what it is that makes a true home; of awakening loyalty to the present and the future self, to the home, and to the neighborhood. Instruction should be spread out over a considerable time rather than compressed into one or two talks. There is great advantage in beginning with young children before the age of sex consciousness. Instruction can succeed in the end only as every one — and especially parents, teachers, and religious leaders — becomes awake to its necessity and significance.

It is generally agreed that mothers should be induced to discuss with their daughters questions of sex hygiene and sex relations, the responsibilities of motherhood, and the value of home life. Many mothers, however, believe that their daughters know nothing about such subjects and

prefer that it should be so; others are frankly afraid to treat the matter; others feel that they have no vocabulary for the explanation. To meet these two latter situations certain settlements have organized talks before the women's clubs, and in a few instances have collected a small library, the books of which are loaned to mothers. Though the task of inducing mothers to give such instruction is beset with difficulty, it is indicative of the distinctively settlement method of meeting responsibility by helping its proper bearer to carry it; a course which is, under present conditions, infinitely harder though in the end much more rewarding than the opposite one of imparting instruction directly. It is interesting and significant that in one city the school authorities maintain classes to teach mothers how to instruct their adolescent children.

Where the mothers cannot be induced to give the necessary instruction, most

settlements set about securing the parents' permission to present the matter to their daughters. This is done through explanations before the women's clubs, and by calling on individual mothers and explaining clearly and frankly the dangers of ignorance. There is always a proportion of women who are certain that any instruction is unwise; but the majority are glad to be relieved of responsibility by which they are more or less consciously worried.

The best opinion is in favor of individual instruction for adolescent girls, though before adolescence instruction may well be given in groups. Where the individual approach is not practicable, which is the common condition, the group should be kept small; six being the number most mentioned. As far as may be, the members of the class should be a club group, of like age and experience. Wherever possible the subject should be introduced incidentally. General discussion should fol-

low the talk, and future individual conferences should be systematically encouraged. In a few instances books are lent after a talk to girls who desire them. There are very exceptional instances in which a measure of success is attained with large groups. In such a case it should be deliberately planned to include not less than twenty-five in the group, in order that the individual may be lost in the whole. It is universally agreed, however, that it takes a genius to get results in this way.

Interests which strengthen character.

There are several leading motives to which intelligent social workers appeal in promoting practical morality. Everything possible should be done to ennoble the relations between the sexes; to purify the tradition concerning romance through the spread of the great novels; to eliminate cheap kissing games, cheap plays, and low dances; to create a love of fine things in the home, in literature, and in life generally; to mul-

tiply opportunities wherein young people themselves assume the responsibility of planning recreation, conducting negotiations, expressing ideas for groups, and holding office. Many adolescent girls are greatly strengthened by being helped to the acquisition of some characteristic skill or power, especially where it leads to advancement in their work. Certain are fortified through encouragement to save, to work against special odds, or to meet new and trying situations. Participation in a good home and early religious training, especially where religion is interpreted in terms of responsibility to others, are safeguards of a constructive sort. There is a strong feeling that membership in trade unions and in organizations for the promotion of woman suffrage is a vital source of character growth to working girls. But the most often mentioned source of moral power is capacity for leadership. The girl who excels in athletics, dancing, dramatics,

skating, music, intellectual interests, home-making, or even in the artistic side of dress, apparently has a superiority over the average girl which goes far toward compelling a general standard above that which she finds about her.

Underlying moral vitality.

The net result of experience with working girls is that they have remarkable capacity of moral resistance. On the whole the discerning social worker is constantly moved by the knowledge of their instinctive rectitude. The most serious meaning of this chapter is not that a great proportion of girls are unchaste, but that of all those who escape that fate practically every one has her whole moral nature grilled, harrowed, and distraught, by tests and strains that are well-nigh overwhelming in their intensity and persistence.

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION AND CHARACTER

The young working girl's search for recreation is fraught with moral danger at many points. She is, to begin with, usually over-fatigued after her day's work. She does not find sympathetic incitement to happy pastimes in her home. As a rule, the neighborhood is unequal to the organization of its own amusements. On account of her very limited financial resources, she is thrown into economic dependence upon young men, who may often be practically strangers to her, for her good times. Under conditions such as these she goes out into the evening life of the city, where the whole balanced relation of responsibility and confidence between the sexes is weakened, and a vast system of commercialized

amusement accentuates every item among the risks which she must encounter.

Effects of physical fatigue on the desire for pleasure.

Physical and mental fatigue must be accounted as an important cause of moral laxity. Even after making full allowance for the fact that many factory and shop girls find satisfaction in the companionship afforded by work, in the oftentimes gay noon hours, and in the ride to and fro on the cars with companions; and admitting that both health and morals are conserved in those workrooms where the air is good, the sanitary provisions adequate, the companionship sound, and the oversight both intelligent and considerate, — it still remains true that the enforced attention required, the monotonous repetition of a few movements, and the repression of all youthful spirits during working hours, put a check on the deep-seated desire for spontaneous action which is so characteristic of, and necessary to, adolescence.

Over-weariness has two effects on the desire for pleasure. The girl who has stood all day long at some monotonous occupation frequently complains that her feet ache too much to make walking or dancing enjoyable. She finds it necessary to go to bed at the earliest possible moment in order to be ready to endure the morrow. On the other hand, the girl who has been sitting at a machine all day is often so wrought upon by the irksomeness and the monotony of her occupation that she is willing to go to almost any length to obtain relief for her pent-up spirit. The repression of the day creates a degree of tension that is overwhelming in its demand for some form of spontaneous pleasurable excitement. Where this reaction is not restrained or guided, it frequently manifests itself in a form so crude as to amount to hilarious license. If, however, the impulse for recreation is satisfied in a wholesome manner, the girl is rested

and refreshed and far more capable of performing her work in the most efficient and productive manner. Under present conditions the fatigue of industry is frequently reinforced and augmented by late hours, highly nervous pleasures, and unhygienic homes; and this cumulative exhaustion may so weaken both the finer initiative and the power of inhibition even of girls of sound principle, that they are led into acts that later bring to them bitter regret and humiliation.

Modern individualism and the relations between the sexes.

It is a common conviction that the chivalry which once marked the relation between the sexes is disappearing. Consideration for and protection of women is less and less seen in factories, in stores, in the cars, and on the streets. The effects, however, are more noticeable in working-class neighborhoods. Overcrowding forces a crude realization of the sex relationship on young people at a very early

age, and undermines the ideal of true companionship between men and women which should prevail. Girls in their general relations are more and more assuming the full independence of the wage-earner. They frequent places of amusement so far as their income will carry them without escorts, though they seek the company of male acquaintance for its prestige. In a large number of cases they are giving up the custom of being sought after, and themselves frankly make the overtures to men whom they desire to attract. Compared with former standards, the present relation between the sexes often seems somewhat unlovely. The result of this new attitude is beginning to carry over into home life. The personal relation between the husband and the wife, where the latter has earned her own living, is frequently not so fine as it was under the old order; especially if the husband is unable to support the wife as amply as she provided for herself before marriage.

While a large proportion of girls between fourteen and sixteen are not financially dependent on youths for such forms of recreation as the moving-picture show, the cheap dance, and the cheap theater, they do tend to rely on the other sex for balls, excursions, club outings, and other pleasures involving unusual expenditures. In the years between sixteen and eighteen, the girl becomes more dependent on men financially and personally. On the one hand, she spends more on dress and adornment and her amusement ideals involve a larger expenditure; on the other hand, she consciously tries to be attractive and to secure attentions. In many cases she takes a girl companion, with whom she roams the street or haunts the lobbies of theaters and grill-rooms, adventuring in the search after association and pleasure. It is a general opinion that young women are more and more freely entering saloons and cafés.

Dependence on men for recreation.

In a large number of cases this does not mean that the girl is depraved. It oftentimes happens that her budding æsthetic instincts find their most poignant satisfaction in the light, music, and decorations of gaudily decorated resorts, which she attends mainly for the intellectual stimulus which they supply. The habit, however, lays her open to temptation which she is ill-fitted to meet. There is always the danger that she may enter on illicit relations; or, failing to find an outlet for her spirits, become apathetic and hysterical. Every girl should be in possession of a moderate sum for her own use in order that she need not be so ready to accept promiscuous overtures.

The leading amusement ideal of the adolescent girl is the dance-hall. After that, in order of popularity may be mentioned restaurants and cafés, the moving-picture shows, the theaters; in some communi-

Agencies for recreation: (1) dancing;

ties skating-rinks; and promenading the streets. Coming from the monotony of work, and from oftentimes dreary home surroundings, the dance-hall, with its lights, gay music, refreshments, and attractive surroundings, seems everything that is bright and beautiful. It offers the most available way of meeting members of the other sex, provides opportunities of conquest, affords even the chance of meeting men from a superior station in life, and perhaps of falling in with the Prince Charming who will take her away from all that is sordid and unlovely to the Land of Heart's Desire.

While practically all workers among girls believe that dancing may be one of the best possible forms of recreation, provided there is clean air, proper lighting, decent music, a good floor, and early closing, the public dance-hall is everywhere believed to be a source of evil, and at best radically in need of regulation. Among

the next steps that are absolutely requisite is that of altogether barring the sale of liquor, and to the same end of prohibiting the issuance of return checks; of establishing a legal age under which young girls cannot attend, with a rigid enforcement of the requirement; of providing police supervision so as to prevent disorder and to keep out immoral women; and of eliminating the dangerously prevalent indecent dances of the past few years. It is generally believed that each public dance-hall should be in charge of a police officer and a police matron, who should be trained social workers. But, on the whole, the public dance-hall is never good, and is always particularly unfit for girls under eighteen.

Municipal dances under the management of city officials are so experimental that it is still too early to draw conclusions. In a few cases such dances seem to show hopeful possibilities. So far, however, they have not been undertaken in a

sufficient spirit of responsibility, and no effort has been made to arouse a community sentiment strong enough to sustain a higher standard than that of the commercial resorts. If the municipal dance-hall is to become common, it should be definitely organized so as to accomplish real constructive results, such as that of acting as a social center for the whole family.

So far very little attention has been devoted to the matter of guarding adolescent girls on their way home after dances. While it is a general impression that much evil originates between the dance and the home, there is a divided difference of opinion as to ways of controlling this interval. In a few instances social workers have themselves seen girls home, though this is a custom chiefly among settlements located in Italian neighborhoods where such guardianship seems natural. A few workers among girls believe that chaperonage is unnecessary if liquor has not been sold.

It is the universal belief that the early closing of dances and a higher standard of conduct at the dance itself would go far toward safeguarding the period after the dance.

The main source of safety, however, is believed to consist in keeping recreation under the influence of home and neighborhood life. Dancing-places under strict supervision should be provided in every community, the clientele drawn from within a few blocks, the freedom of the hall offered only to carefully chosen individuals and organizations, and the dance dismissed by eleven o'clock. Under conditions such as these it is believed that young people would naturally go home in groups and avoid temptation. Next to the safeguard which grows out of proper neighborhood life comes that of enlisting the interest of parents and older members of the family, who should always be notified of the exact hour at which the dance closes. German and Jewish families are more

careful in this respect than those of other nationalities, the daughters attending weddings and other social events with their parents. It is the general opinion that parents should be held responsible for the safety of their daughters, and that the burden should not be loaded on the public.

(2) the theater;

The effect of the theater on young working girls is naturally suggested by the type of theater which they generally frequent. They cannot spend the sums required to attend the better theaters and the high-grade plays. The cheap theaters, on the other hand, demoralize both by their sensationalism and sentimentalism and produce very much the same effect as the cheap unreal novel. Attendance is followed more by unrest and dissatisfaction than by any sense of fulfillment. Yet the high-class drama is believed by all settlement workers to be a valuable instrument of education. It is more inspiring than books, supplies defi-

nite standards of word and deed, along with romantic dreams which are of real moral value.

The present moving-picture show is a great gain over the acted melodrama which it has supplanted. The old admixture of false piety and mawkish sentiment as a covering for crude and low views of life, once so frequent in the melodrama, was deeply injurious. It was a definite gain to be rid of this, though the moving-picture shows, at the start, offered little if any improvement. The National Board of Censorship, made up largely of social workers, has done much to bring about a better grade of films. Much, however, remains to be desired. As recreation, the average show is too passive, requiring no thought and leading to no self-expression. It stimulates the desire for thrills, and habitual attendance makes all evenings spent away from the "movies" seem insufferably dull. Some of the great-

(3) the moving-picture show;

est dangers also arise from conditions apart from the show itself. As with all cheap theaters the crowds outside the door, the lurid and sensational advertisements, and the absence of all chaperonage, are sources of danger; but with the moving-picture theater there is the special risk which comes through the often questionable vaudeville interspersed with the pictures, the danger of undue familiarity made possible by dim lights, and the likelihood that the much more easy conversational relations among spectators will lead to improvised and clandestine acquaintance with men. All these factors have an injurious effect greater than that of the performance; and the problem is largely shifted from the stage into the audience.

(4) the roller skating-rink;

The roller skating-rink has almost entirely disappeared from the large cities of the country, and is found only in some of the smaller towns and villages. The old objections of dust, lack

of air, fatigue, and general promiscuity still hold.

The school center is believed to be a promising factor in the solution of the problem of recreation for adolescent girls, especially if it will provide for the girls who now go to low-grade dance-halls as their only recreational resource. The existence of the school center as an alternative would also make it easier to secure the more drastic legislation necessary in order to regulate the commercial recreation places. The ultimate value of the school center will depend on the degree of protection which it affords the girl. If thorough supervision fails, the center becomes just as unfortunate as any other method of bringing people together. Its right organization must mean that the girls come from the vicinity, are among acquaintances at the center, are within their neighborhood environment as they leave it at the end of the evening. So

(5) the school center.

organized, the center affords protection of a high order in helping the girl maintain her standards. She is hedged in by the public opinion of the neighborhood, of her teachers, and of her accustomed companions. The educational bond is in itself elevating and protecting. The coming and going within a familiar neighborhood is not likely to be alluring or dangerous. The center itself, by raising the standard of neighborhood loyalty, tends to build up the moral sense of the community. It is much to be regretted that thus far there has been little or no success in bringing families as a whole to the school center; though the girl is not fond of going to places of amusement where she is under the eye of members of her own family.

While the school center has a great future before it as it becomes fully developed and broadly applied, in the meantime the settlements have the duty and opportunity of making bolder and larger

experiments, by way of suggestion, toward meeting the more public recreational needs of their communities. The solution of local recreational problems depends on the nature of the neighborhood and the degree of support granted to the settlement. In congested downtown districts, where public recreation is heavily commercialized, the settlement can do much to organize the demand for a better type of performance; and can make such organization a real means of influence. In neighborhoods which are somewhat removed from the center of the city, and have a life of their own, the settlement might undertake to control and direct the amusement of its local community. It is believed by many that it would be a very profitable experiment for a settlement federation to select a normal neighborhood, make a survey, and attempt a large-scale recreation programme as an experiment. This would

The settlement and recreational needs.

involve good-sized dances, reading-rooms for adults, the provision of some theatrical performances, moving pictures, good concerts and music, the development of festivals, and the celebration of holidays. In such a neighborhood an educational agency might compete with commercial amusements at the cost of a relatively small subsidy.

Educating neighborhood public opinion.

In all environments there should be systematic education of public opinion as to recreational standards. Social workers should undertake more detailed study of the question of recreational supply and demand in their neighborhoods, and newspapers should be asked to publish the findings. Lectures should be given in the public schools, exhibits prepared, and moving-picture demonstrations provided, in order to set forth some of the dangers associated with improper recreation. Individual social workers should also make it a part of their

task to enlighten the mothers of young girls. Through women's clubs and community gatherings an attempt should be made to build up a neighborhood standard on questions of this sort. Laws should be secured providing a greater degree of municipal regulation of dance-halls, theaters, moving-picture shows, and other forms of commercial recreation. Over against the attraction of such larger resorts at important centers of traffic, neighborhood centers maintained by settlements and other agencies must be far more generous of opportunities of pleasure which can reach every member of the local community.

The broadest and most urgent need, however, is for the thorough supervision of commercial amusement resorts. This supervision should be largely in the hands of women, who must be given all necessary police authority. Even more important than the function of following and seeking to inter-

Multiplying supervised recreation.

cept girls who are definitely involved in evil ways, is that of carrying out many needed forms of preventive work. It should be their duty to attend public dance-halls. They should be stationed, in particular, about the entrance to the dressing and toilet rooms. They should attend the theaters and keep an eye on young girls who are unattended by older people, and see that the proprieties are observed. They should mingle in the crowds at the amusement parks, especially among the girls just outside the gates, and see that they do not go off with strange men. They should frequent the streets upon which young girls promenade; they should watch the restaurants which are frequented by young couples with a tendency to drink too much; and should visit hotels and lodging-houses for the purpose of seeking girls who have been decoyed there.

CHAPTER IX

FORMS OF CONSTRUCTIVE RECREATION

THERE is widespread agreement of testimony among settlement workers that the normal recreational provision for young working girls should consist of one half-holiday, preferably in the open; one evening devoted to a club; one evening for attendance on a party, theater, or moving-picture show; and an occasional red-letter event in addition to this average. It is the general belief that most girls spend too much time away from home, and might profitably be required to remain within doors, except for a walk, several evenings a week. When conditions are especially favorable a girl may be encouraged to attend evening school; when they are the reverse, and the home is wholly insufficient and de-

Normal amount of recreation weekly.

grading, many settlement workers encourage adolescent girls to attend several settlement events weekly.

It is also very generally felt that the difficulty in the question of recreation is partly one of judgment in the use of money. There ought, in the first place, to be some money available for this purpose. The average working girl should receive at least ten per cent of her wages; never less than twenty-five cents a week, and where possible, something more.

Many girls handle from one to several dollars weekly, and have little to show for it. On the whole, it seems the general experience that too much is spent on commercial recreation; that in this, as in other directions, not knowing the value of money, girls secure a minimum return in pleasure content.

The most popular, and in some ways the most valuable, form of settlement recreation is found in the settlement dancing

parties, which are prepared for by the settlement dancing classes. In one or two instances settlements have induced high-grade dancing teachers to take classes of neighborhood girls, with astonishing results in the quality of dancing and the outlook toward life and recreation. Girls who have been trained to dance properly are protected in some degree by that knowledge. Equally important is the fact that the settlement-club boy is taught to respect women, to address his partner correctly and to hold her properly in the dance, and to forbear the use of impure language. Though "social" dancing is most in demand, folk-dancing is receiving more and more attention, and its appeal may be expected to become general by persistent educational effort. The most necessary factor in the management of settlement dancing parties is that there be a definite understanding concerning the standard to be reached and

Values in recreation.

that the start be taken from the best that the community sets for itself. The majority of settlements incline to sanction frequent small dances rather than large ones. It is generally felt, however, that large dances are valuable when they are organized by a committee of young people, who themselves assume the financial responsibility and look after the order of the floor.

The girls themselves take two attitudes toward settlement dancing parties. A certain proportion believe them "high-toned," and attend commercial dances sparingly or not at all. Others, however, consider the settlement dances "slow," and prefer the large hall, the variety of partners, and the freedom of dancing allowed in the commercial resorts. Yet settlement dances have a decided effect on neighborhood standards. The fact that parents are more willing to permit their daughters to attend such parties, and the tendency on the part of the young people themselves

to demand some of the better and more attractive features which distinguish settlement events, affect both public and private dances. It is generally believed that settlement dances in competition with the lower-grade public resorts should be quite frequent. More settlements might support a dance-hall open every evening, with a good floor, good music, decorations of a better sort, and proper supervision.

Next to dancing, dramatics are found to be the most useful recreational resource. When a play is rehearsed under careful supervision and direction by leaders with high standards, the dramatic club affords opportunity for personal expression and personal achievement, provides real recreation, becomes a source of education in association, organization, responsibility, and the management of finances, and brings together family groups as such at the performances. Athletics, group singing, theater parties, and week-end parties to the

settlement vacation house, are all highly successful forms of educational recreation. Certain settlements are giving a considerable degree of attention to reviving the old-fashioned circle games and surrounding them with an atmosphere of fresh and lively interest.

Most useful and necessary are those various forms of work devised to help girls in developing their capacity for self-amusement, and to take advantage of the wealth of recreative possibilities associated with home life. To this end they are encouraged to acquire skill in embroidery and fancy-work, to read aloud at home, and to visit among friends who have a helpful and stimulating influence.

Coöperation with agencies of recreation.

In a certain number of cases settlement residents have secured the good will of the proprietor of the local dance-hall, and act semi-officially in supervising parties or in refusing the application of clubs which are known

to be disreputable. It is commonly a part of settlement service to visit the commercial halls regularly and report conditions to the proper agencies. In a short time proprietors come to accept this kind of oversight, and in numerous instances conform themselves to its demand. It is the general opinion that every public dance-hall should be under strict surveillance, and that the supervisors or chaperons should be paid by the city and not permitted to accept gratuities of any sort from the managers of the halls.

Settlements have often been able to prevent the establishment of moving-picture shows under conditions which involved undue physical or moral risk, and most settlements exercise a degree of oversight in the matter of films and vaudeville. In New York a number of settlement residents have served on the National Board of Censorship. Proprietors of neighborhood moving-picture shows frequently ask the head of the settlement to indicate any feature

which they find objectionable. In several instances a mass meeting of parents has been called, and better conditions secured.

In a certain number of cases settlement residents attend the public playgrounds, where they serve as instructors for groups of girls. Several houses located among factories have organized dancing classes which meet in the playground building during the noon hour. Other settlements coöperate with municipal gymnasia by organizing groups of girls to attend, and the same service is rendered in connection with the municipal "hikes" now conducted in several cities.

The recreational services of the school center and of the settlement as things apart have been mentioned. The settlements, however, nearly everywhere make active contributions in promoting the recreational use of the public schools. Certain houses arrange for the services of an instructor in folk-dancing in the school

hall for neighborhood girls over fourteen; others supply school visitors; still others make definite efforts to induce girls to attend the public-school lectures and concerts. The growth of the public-school recreation center, in a few instances, has reduced the amount of formal educational work carried on in settlements, and to some extent the dancing classes and the clubs; a much desired result which is giving settlement workers the necessary freedom to meet the problem of recreation as it appears objectively in the community, and to coöperate with a wide range of recreational agencies.

There are several directions in which the beginnings of finer forms of recreation are being established. The wage-earner's theater leagues in various cities, organized to bring the price of seats within the reach of working people, have made it possible for settlement residents to press the question of attendance on good plays, under

intelligent leadership. The increased use of public libraries is brought about by encouraging young girls to attend story-telling hours, where such are provided, and in the case of older clubs by sending dramatic groups to read over plays. In a number of instances girls are taken to art museums, where interest is aroused in the various collections by appropriate explanations and simple suggestions for further study.

Engaging parents in young people's recreation.

The possibility of including parents in the amusements of young people is partly a matter of nationality; thus it is comparatively easy in the case of Italians and Syrians, and very difficult with the Irish. Close coöperation between the mother, the club leader and the girl herself is necessary. It is also desirable on occasion to secure the actual participation of parents in play, thus eliciting that fresh awakening of sympathy and comprehension which action alone calls forth. Entertainments organized by

mothers' clubs for their daughters have been tried with great success. Club leaders should also visit the homes, talk with the parents, contrast the opportunities of today with those of previous generations, and point out the true bearing of the present situation. By showing them the danger which lies in wait for the girl who attends commercial amusement resorts, and suggesting the need of home and neighborhood recreations, great good has already been accomplished. Most important of all is the effort to assist the parents themselves in arranging little parties, picnics, or celebrations in which the daughter and her friends will be the center of interest. A few settlements have been successful in giving Sunday teas for families, to which all the members come; where mothers and fathers meet the club leaders; and where young people are drawn together in a thoroughly and peculiarly wholesome intimacy. Most settlement workers also

believe that more pains should be taken to keep the mother informed as to the girl's engagements at the settlement; and in urging that parents make themselves acquainted with her whereabouts whenever she is away from home.

Among other successful expedients may be mentioned the interest secured through asking parents to act as chaperons and to serve refreshments at settlement parties, to help prepare costumes for plays and fancy dances, and to attend athletic, dramatic and other events in company with their daughters; through inducing girls to give Sunday afternoon teas for mothers; through interesting parents in all the detail of the girls' picnics and summer vacations; through organizing home festivities in which club leaders can participate; and through well-rounded schemes of neighborhood recreation which automatically involve a large number of homes.

CHAPTER X

ELEMENTS OF GOOD CLUB WORK

THE chief motive of all club and class work is the development of character and the fulfillment of life. This large aim is variously subdivided, depending on the local situation, and the angle of vision of the leaders. Certain workers place their emphasis on individual development, taking form in the effort to induce the girl to exercise her natural capabilities through study or more suitable work, to foster her individual expressiveness, to give her a chance to be happy; others seek to guide the first deliberate ties which the girl establishes with others, to train her in the technique of the various forms of associated action, and to develop a sense of social responsibility; practically all endeavor to

Underlying motives of club and class work.

build up the moral power of the girl by filling her mind with better thoughts and ideals than she would find unaided in her own environment, and guide her through the actual steps of experience into a sound view of life.

How to meet the traits of adolescence.

It is thoroughly established settlement policy to meet the physical and mental needs of which lack of stability, shifting moods, and tendency toward emotionalism are symptoms, through activities which have permanent constructive value. But no setting forth of such pursuits should for a moment obscure the priceless value of personal influence. It is the universal testimony of all workers among girls that club groups should be small, and that each girl should stand in definite relationship with a forceful leader of experience, as well as with the settlement as a whole. The leader gains much if she has known the girl before the period of adolescence sets in.

Above everything else leadership demands that supreme patience which comes of the recognition that the girl does not know herself, that she naturally makes heavy demands for sympathetic interest in her own problems, that it is wise prodigality to give her such individual attention as she demands from those whom she likes.

It is also the general opinion that it is helpful to explain the physical and spiritual meaning of adolescence; though such explanation has to be carefully safeguarded. Talks are best given individually, or in small groups, by a thoroughly informed and skillful person, with precautions against later morbid discussion. By explaining the causes and outlining simple forms of treatment for a recurring tendency to weep or for "rowdy" feelings, girls are often helped not only to understand themselves, but to have patience with their moods.

Explaining the physical and spiritual meaning of adolescence.

It is generally agreed that there should be some striking change in the character of organized recreation to mark the beginning of adolescence, and some club leaders believe that a difference might well be made at twelve years of age and a more marked change at fourteen. The chief effort of the club leader should be given to preventing the loss of sympathy with the more conservative interests of home and family, and to assisting the girl in establishing as many high-grade human ties as possible. Hence it is of the utmost importance to keep club groups together. The plan of work outlined for the club should meet the girl's idea of herself as a new and responsible individual. Folk-dancing, nature study, literary interests of any kind, handicraft, and a considerable amount of purely recreational activities, should be provided; and all of these may be included in a single varied programme

Development in organized recreation at beginning of adolescence.

if they are needed to keep up the momentum of the club group. Discipline should be steadily enforced. In so far as possible the girl should be led to see the individual and social significance of the changes created by adolescence; she should be brought into the larger world as a delegate to the general club council, or through mass meetings with the members of the different clubs. She should have some social responsibility put upon her, and be actively participant in some form of community self-expression.

Adapting club work to the needs of adolescence.

The most experienced leaders change the theme of club work often, providing a considerable range of different activities in the same evening, recognizing the desire for a spirited and swiftly moving "time." In cases when a mood unsuited to the work in hand intrudes, the programme is changed to meet it or discontinued. Much club and class work is unsuccessful because

the leaders fail to gauge the need for variety and try to hold a group too closely to one form of effort. Frequent change of activity, however, is balanced by insisting that each unit of work be finished and complete. Variety of programme is not permitted to breed shiftlessness or sloppiness.

In addition to the average class work, liberal provision should be made for the satisfaction and discipline of the emotions. Singing, dancing, and dramatics should be liberally and spiritedly promoted, but always with an advancing standard in view. The world's great romances should become an unquestioned and highly prized possession through story-telling, reading aloud, and the encouragement of private reading. The master strokes of human genius in a wide variety of other fields should also be brought within the girl's horizon. During the latter part of adolescence it is possible to appeal more directly to the girl's sense of responsibility. Latent moral ideas are

easily brought into consciousness and discussed; thus the parents, their problems, their point of view, their sacrifices can be talked over; and the beauty of family helpfulness, loyalty, and unity can be explained. Attractive and admirable leaders, however, are more than ever necessary; and heroines, more or less distant, to pattern after. In a few settlements the girls enter a senior department at the end of the age period under consideration. In this new stage more freedom is given, relations with the older boys' clubs are established, and the girl definitely graduated into the status of young womanhood.

Principles and technique of organization for girls.

Organization is not popular with girls, whose extreme individualism makes it difficult to hold their collective attention. Small groups are, therefore, doubly necessary, made up of a nucleus of congenial souls, to which a limited number of additions are gradually made of girls who are known to as many

as possible of the original members. Internal cliques are best controlled by magnifying the common interests and by variety of work. The club should be self-governing, with frequent change of officers, who should be given a large measure of responsibility. A good share of the control of the club should be in the hands of the members, who should have privacy and freedom to work out their own desires and motives. The oversight should be strong, gentle, continuous, by one leader, who must be sufficiently enthusiastic and capable to engage the interest of the members in those activities which she wishes to see carried out. Influence should be exerted as far as possible through suggestion. Much individual attention should be paid the girls outside the club meetings. The final need in leadership is the power to establish friendship with each girl in the club.

Within the club, loyalty to the group

should be fostered in every possible way. Club songs, pins, anniversaries, and parties are useful. The meetings themselves should stand the test of the girls' idea of a good time. There should be a sufficient variety of activity so that each girl may find something that strongly engrosses her attention and interest; and a number of good times with a sufficient quality of distinction to cause them to stand out as brilliant events. Opportunity should be afforded the club to exercise hospitality toward parents or others, and in accordance with the normal promptings of the developing emotions of this period the girls should be brought to feel themselves definitely a part of some large scheme of usefulness.

Though girls are not spontaneously drawn to administrative routine, they can be interested in offices, reports, and business meetings, and they should be encouraged to take part in such procedure. The technique of committee work develops

character and capacity; gives the power to speak on one's feet, to reason logically, to undertake executive work; and promotes tolerance, earnestness, and conscientiousness. Invaluable as such work is, however, only a fraction of an evening can be devoted to it, and the remainder must be filled up with activities which unmistakably appeal to the girl.

Large meetings of girls are successful at some settlements. Such gatherings secure the inspiration that comes through numbers, and under proper conditions can be made part of a plan for developing social responsibility. Those meetings are most appreciated where the time has been divided between a supper, a talk of a serious kind, and a period of jollity to finish off.

Qualifications of club leaders.

The problem of securing the club leaders best fitted to work with girls in this age period is, of course, a difficult one. Even after the initial difficulty of securing the right type of wo-

man, with the human attitude which a specific desire for such work gives, the problem of assisting her to give of her own best is an important one. "If residents and volunteers might themselves have something of the same training, under an expert, which we are trying to give our girls, they would be much better prepared to influence adolescents," writes one frank worker among girls. The problem of directing the inexperienced leader, so that the club may not suffer while she is perfecting her technique, is naturally serious. Growth in such capacity can be brought about "through studying sympathetically the individual girls," through "being less serious," through "meeting and consulting together with other club leaders more frequently." A course for workers among girls, which would include instruction in physiology, psychology, dramatics, educational story-telling, social and folk dancing, parlor games, and the organization

of entertainments, would be extremely valuable. Several settlements have special conferences or even regular meetings for the discussion of problems connected with work among girls. The plan of organization followed at the Henry Street Settlement, New York, and outlined below, has had conspicuous success.[1]

[1] "In general, the success of the club work may be attributed to the highly developed club organization, and the system of training club leaders. The girls' department controls the clubs, classes, and circulating library from the time the children leave the kindergarten until they are eighteen years of age, when they are promoted to the senior organization. There is a head of the department, a resident secretary, and this year, with the increase of clubs and classes, an assistant clerical secretary. A new club leader at once feels herself part of an established system. She is coached by the head of the department as to the ideals and history of the clubs and the traditions of the house; the secretary finds a place for her as assistant under the leadership of a capable club leader, for no new recruit, unless she has had experience elsewhere, is allowed to take charge of a club until she has proved herself thoroughly capable. There are monthly meetings of club leaders with the head worker, the head of the department, and the secretary. These may be likened to faculty meetings. Here is where the club leader gets her general training; here the club schedules are arranged, the club programmes discussed,

All settlements endeavor to reserve time which can be devoted to visiting girls in their own homes. Such visits are universally appreciated, except in the case of low-grade Irish-Amer- Visiting in the home.

and questions of discipline and the problems of individual children are brought up. The staff is divided into committees responsible for special interests — for instance, to the chairman of the dramatics committee all dramatic ventures must be submitted, so that the house standards may be upheld for festivals, pantomimes, and plays. The club leaders as a group have taken up courses of study. The head worker through the monthly meetings keeps the leaders in touch with civic and national affairs, so that they may comprehend the significance of their work, and feel that they are coöperating with those larger forces in society which are making for progress.

"In these meetings the leader gets her general training, but it is in the club work itself that she receives more special training. The secretary of the department watches the club leader handle her group, helps her with difficult children, plans her programme with her, and in the case of her necessary absence takes the club, so that the girls are not demoralized by being sent home; and attendance is made a serious obligation for them. The secretary does all the purchasing of materials for the clubs, and each club treasurer hands in her dues to the clerical secretary, and receives a statement of the club's finances. Even the younger children's clubs meet the cost of materials used and pay a small fee to house."

ican families, where the girl sometimes objects. The main value of such visiting, however, accrues to the club leader rather than to the girl directly. Only in this way is it possible to understand the fashion in which the family life and the environment are related to the outside activities wherein the leader sees the girls. Many workers, however, believe that the most valuable calling is that done before adolescence. Though the girl is less approachable at this period, the fact that the leader has been an outstanding friend doubles her influence when adolescence is reached. As a rule visits are best made by appointment. The girl is then fully prepared; and, as the object is acquaintance rather than investigation, there is every reason for making sure of her coöperation beforehand. It is often wise, however, to call upon the mother when the daughter is not at home, and as her child is almost always a puzzle to her the visit often brings leader and mother close together.

A very large proportion of settlement workers visit in girls' homes on Sundays, though it is the consensus of opinion that Sunday is not a good day for a first call of a stranger to the family. The most profitable Sunday calls are among Italians, Syrians, and Jews. Irish girls are usually away from home. Many settlements reverse the order by keeping open house themselves on Sunday afternoon and evening, with a fireside gathering and conversation.

Sunday visiting.

The custom of visiting girls who work in department stores, or in offices where the employees are immediately before the public, is common; and is helpful on both sides. It is generally believed to be inadvisable to visit factories during working-hours. The managers discourage the practice, and girls who are on piece-work often dislike to lose time. The noon hour in factories, however, is utilized to much advantage by some settlement

Visiting girls at work.

workers for personal calls, and by others for the collection of savings from large numbers of girls. Many settlement residents believe that it is useful to visit places of work even though one does not ask to see the girls. The operatives are pleased that an acquaintance has visited the factory, and they talk more freely on conditions of employment, the character of overseers, and other details of occupation. One of the best things that the settlement can undertake is to educate employers to the need of thoroughly humanized and resourceful oversight of adolescent girls in the factory.

CHAPTER XI

MIXED CLUBS OF BOYS AND GIRLS

THERE is considerable divergence of opinion concerning the age at which boys and girls should be brought together into clubs. A few club leaders hold that boys and girls ought to meet regularly from childhood on; others would have them meet occasionally from childhood, though under rigid supervision; many are convinced that the fourteenth or the sixteenth year is early enough. It is the universal opinion that while the adolescent boy and girl should not be encouraged to seek one another's society too early, yet the first gatherings should be brought about before they begin to meet on the street corners. To teach young men and women to associate together in free and fine fulfillment

is a unique and priceless part of the educational service of the settlement.

In practice, workers among girls are torn between the desire to bring older boys and girls into the same circles and the sense of the difficulty of managing such groups. Moral risks are always involved in forming mixed groups, not because of what may happen while its members are under supervision, but because the most inflammable material in the group may then so easily continue the meeting outside.

In general, the success of the mixed club depends on the age of its members, the degree of supervision maintained, and the resource of the leader. In only a few instances is there any record of successful mixed clubs under sixteen, and in these clubs a superhuman amount of oversight and guidance seems necessary. In general, the most successful mixed clubs are organized at the end of the fourteen to six-

teen period, and continue for several years after that. As a matter of principle, however, it is universally believed that when there is already a natural grouping of young men and women, it should be recognized precisely as is the gang in the case of club work among boys. The director must be discerning, gentle, and exceptionally facile in planning games and other occupations that have a common interest. The chief reason why there are so few mixed clubs is because experience has demonstrated the exceeding difficulty of securing the essential type of leadership.

Apart from actual mixed clubs, there is a well-defined tendency, however, to promote meetings between boys' and girls' clubs. Joint monthly gatherings for singing, dancing, debate, dramatics, and a weekly or monthly house dance, have been found successful. In many settlements there are found cases of a boys' club and a girls' club whose members are accustomed

to associate together, and such clubs take turns in entertaining each other. One house consciously endeavors, whenever a boys' or a girls' club is organized, to bring together a group of friends and acquaintances of the opposite sex. Clubs of girls are often encouraged to invite young men of their acquaintance to parties or dances. Competition with boys' groups is valuable if individual self-assertion can be obviated. Proper competition often stimulates to action and leads to increased productiveness in organized activity, though it may become dangerous if it commercializes the spirit of the club. In any case the emphasis should not be that of pitting boys' and girls' clubs against each other, but of bringing the two into a certain number of common coöperative enterprises.

Other than dancing the most successful interests which have been found to be suited for mixed groups are, first of all, dramatics, then table and acted charades, sing-

ing, debates, parties, trips to museums and the theater, talks and lectures, and, to a limited degree, outings into the country. Excursions, as a general rule, are looked on askance because of the impossibility of preventing young people from pairing off and breaking up the party. Such outings are successful only in cases where all the members of the group are sufficiently trained through long association in club meetings to be dependable. The most hopeful expedient in preserving a high degree of order at social events is the direct participation of the young men and women themselves in the detail of organization and management.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION IN THE REALITIES

THOSE forms of educational work which train both the brain and the hand, or which particularly develop originality, individuality, and imagination, are considered the most valuable. Chief among these are dramatics, music, reading, — including topics of the day and short stories, — dancing, household art, hygiene, nature study, gymnastics, ethics, and home games. The most generally advocated form of gymnastics is folk-dancing, in that it is an artistic expression of personality, gives grace and poise, and, by throwing the mind into a happy state, affords an outlet for nervous as well as for physical energy. National dances have been found to be of unusual worth in some immigrant neighborhoods, where

Educational work : (1) gymnastics ;

they are used to create loyalty to race and customs, and bring the girl into touch with some of the elemental expressive art-forms of her ancestors. Many settlement workers, however, believe that purely gymnastic training is of more all-around value, in that it develops restraint, puts an impress upon bearing, promotes decision of character, quickness of judgment, resource, energy, and self-control; interests the girl in fair play; and offers a perfectly normal opportunity for teaching sex hygiene. The new gymnasium games, which are so largely free from the atmosphere of mechanical constraint, are beginning to open important possibilities in these directions for working girls.

The sad wrong in the present educational situation lies in the fact that the adolescent girl finds so little kindling interest in preparation for the long years of her life as housewife and mother. It is believed that the attrac-

(2) domestic science;

tive power in domestic matters can best be increased by changing the emphasis from cooking to homemaking. The picturesque and dramatic aspects of housekeeping should be emphasized; constant insistence should be laid on the dignity of woman's tasks in the home; housework should be made a fine art and linked with all that is best in life. Mastery over its technique should be shown as an asset toward a really successful match; and a sane view of marriage presented. Model apartments and cottages should be furnished in connection with every settlement, and ought to be developed as a part of the public system of education as quickly as possible.

Instruction should be given in the sources, constituents, values, and qualities of food; in the sanitary care of the household; in the upbringing of children; in the various arts and crafts connected with furnishing, — all worked out dramatically

and presented with much inventiveness and variety. The model apartments should also be made the center of a scheme of hospitality, so that the work itself may become associated with interesting and stimulating social relations. The instructor should be a person of all-around experience in life, and not merely a student or a pedagogue. She should instruct with imagination and be able to arouse enthusiasm. Instruction should be followed up and reinforced by visits into the homes of the pupils. Club leaders should also, wherever possible, invite girls to their own homes, and offer them the opportunity to observe and participate in a well-organized domestic establishment. It is also suggested that girls should be involved as much as possible in the practical preparation of food for the settlement picnics and country vacations.

Without exception, settlements endeavor to promote interest in the refinements of life, and new methods toward this end are

constantly being devised. Residents, however, might well do more to make their houses as simply and vitally beautiful as may be. The standard of taste in settlements is, on the whole, not as high as it should be, and there is still much to be done to make the equipment express the love of beauty. Good club leadership is again the chief necessity, because refinement of spirit and deportment is caught rather than taught. Girls come to imitate good manners, and are gradually affected by the suggestion of good fashion in dress. They are also influenced through the class work, especially the homemaking classes, where the serving of the meal offers opportunity for instruction in ways of setting the table, in devising decoration out of things that cost little or nothing, in good manners, and in conversation. The model tenement offers the chance to develop the sense for worthy furniture, fabrics, decoration. The sewing,

(3) the refinements of life.

embroidery, dressmaking, and millinery classes open the way for object lessons in design, color, and the power of simplicity. Visits to art museums, to exhibits of crafts work, to selected stores, to theaters and concerts, are all helpful. The decorations involved in parties, festivals, dramatics, and pageants are often made a vehicle of instruction in the principles underlying good taste. The sale of photographs and crafts work has been found successful in some places. Classes in handwork, especially in pottery, embroidery, stenciling, leather and other materials, can be used to build up artistic appreciation.

CHAPTER XIII

PREPARATION FOR YOUNG WOMANHOOD

Marking the epoch of young womanhood.

THERE should be ways of magnifying the importance of entrance into the full status and responsibility of young womanhood, one of which might well be a social event analogous to the coming-out party. Many settlement workers, however, express themselves unfavorably toward a coming-out party for working girls, on the ground that it does not fit into the ideals of working-class life, and that differences of standards among nationalities would greatly complicate any attempt to give form to such an idea. A few club leaders think that something analogous might be developed by giving a party for each club as it becomes a member of the senior council, or by making such a party the climax of

the homemaking courses of the settlement, the event taking the form of a subsidized graduation exercise.

The majority of adolescent girls spend much time in thinking about marriage, very little of which is serious. A certain proportion of them, however, especially among more recent immigrants, marry before eighteen. To such early marriages various considerations move them. Some simply "lose their heads." Others accept the first offer that comes. "Any girl lucky enough to get a man to marry her is to be envied"; "I might as well, it may be the only chance I'll have"; "I don't wish to work all my life, so I may as well take him." Attitude toward marriage.

The average girl sees in marriage a step toward freedom, or an opportunity to be rid of disagreeable work in the factory or in the home. Occasionally a calculating one voices her wish to avoid marriage until assured of sufficient income so that

she may be certain of finding release from present drudgery, her dread that marriage may prevent her having a good time, or her recoil against bearing children and experiencing the cares of family life.

Attitude toward vocation of housewife.

While in her romancing, the girl naturally centers her thoughts about the management of a home, she does not look upon housekeeping as a trade to be learned, but expects to blossom into domestic competence after the marriage ceremony. Some few girls have a forehanded interest in cooking; a still smaller number manifest a workmanlike zest for homemaking; hardly any think to prepare themselves for motherhood. From the very start the interest of the girl is divided between present wage-earning and future housekeeping. She has to look over a period of years before taking up her life career, and is meanwhile distracted by a largely or wholly unrelated wage-earning occupation. On

the whole, the girl cannot be expected to be quite so specifically interested in housework as the boy becomes in his vocational career. Perhaps the fundamental fact is that not until girls come from something better than the present order of tenement homes, will there be a proper incentive from within to undertake hard work in the direction of preparation for marriage.

The model apartment is the most valuable expedient in arousing interest in housework as preparation for marriage. In a number of settlements there are now "supper clubs" of girls, who come directly from work and prepare the common meal. Under such circumstances it is easy for the club leader to point out the frequency with which the affection of husband and children is lost because the wife and mother is not trained to make a physically comfortable home.

CHAPTER XIV

A PROVISIONAL PLATFORM

THE object of the present inquiry was rather to secure the facts about the adolescent girl than to develop a well-knit and adequate system for meeting them. Suggestions in this direction were invited, however; and a synthesis of the immediate next steps proposed includes the main principles upon which social work among adolescent girls ought to proceed.

The most strongly emphasized suggestion, coming in many different forms, and from many different sources, is that which calls for the multiplication of neighborhood recreation, organized and carried on in a protecting and stimulating network of thoroughly developed neighborhood acquaintance and coöperation. There should be, in each local instance, the indoor social

center and the outdoor playground; a continuous year-round programme; and the most inspiriting leadership. Every such enterprise should be closely involved with thoroughgoing effort to connect the home with all organized leisure-time interests. Every individual girl should also be under the guidance of a trained and resourceful woman, who will really know the girl in the background of her home; assist in every possible way to make the family relations wholesome; and endeavor to promote harmonious and stimulating intercourse with other homes. Without the spread of efficient neighborliness in these ways, even the most carefully managed scheme of recreation may fail to provide against some of the worst collateral evils, which by no means begin and end with the commercialized forms of amusement.

The need of trade training, always continuously supplemented by instruction in the care of the home, is keenly and very

widely felt. The "two wasted years" will continue, in the minds of social workers, to represent a most serious and pointed challenge to both industry and education. The one must withdraw its claim on these years; the other must utilize them so that adolescents may actually be taught how to lay hold on life. Only in this way is it possible for the school to exercise that concrete influence upon industry, on the one hand, and upon the home, on the other, which will serve to sustain the working girl in many of her difficulties and dangers.

Guidance for girls in the choice of occupation and actually launching them on their industrial careers, will soon be a public-school function; meanwhile, this duty should be assumed by private neighborhood agencies. From the very moment the girl enters on employment, she is in need of continuous and penetrating oversight. The tasks assigned her, the hours,

the wages, her comings and goings, should be under the notice of some one intelligently concerned about her aside from the official inspectors of factories and stores. Responsible relations should be brought about with movements toward better industrial conditions, first through leaders, and then so far as possible by the initiative of the girls themselves. Here the trade union for women represents a most important interest and resource. The effort for certain forms of legislation should be included in this policy ; and the chief suggestion in this direction is that of a legal minimum wage for women.

Instruction in the hygiene and ethics of sex is universally considered to be of urgent importance, though the question of practical procedure is a subtle and complicated one. There are as yet no very clear results of experience. It is obvious, however, that such instruction must be carried on in a background of close ac-

quaintance with the home and neighborhood. As balance against the ever-present danger into which industrial and commercial pursuits project so many adolescent girls, it is strongly urged that the age of consent be raised at least to eighteen. The adequate legal penalty thus provided would tend to correct one of the most cruel, if not most dangerous, anomalies in our social order. No assured results can be attained so long as society in all its grades stands committed to a double standard of morality, and a broad campaign of public education is advocated for the purpose of leading effectually to a more humanized moral attitude on the part of boys and young men.

THE END

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SCHEDULE ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ADOLESCENT GIRL BETWEEN FOURTEEN AND EIGHTEEN

I. General.

1. Is the confusion of standards now so generally complained of common to all young girls?
2. How far is this confusion the result of distinctive industrial and recreative conditions affecting the adolescent girl, and how far is it the result of general conditions affecting everybody in her walk of life?
3. Is the fact that a girl goes from the comparative protection of the home, the schools, and the neighborhood to the lack of protection in industry a powerful cause?
4. What are the dominant interests characteristic of girls in this period? Is there any motive which is powerful above all others?

II. The Girl and the Home.

1. Family relations.

a. The father: Exploitation of children. Use of girl's salary for his own or family ends. Lack of interest in children as individuals. Cruelty.

b. The mother: In what way does the often radically different outlook upon life on the part of mother and daughter affect this problem?

c. Brothers and sisters.

d. Boarders.

2. The girl as a wage-earner.

a. Attitude of the girl in turning in her income to the home? Is the attitude of the other members of the family toward her a just one in this matter?

3. The physical home.

a. Hygienic, moral, and social effects of overcrowding.

b. Provision for sleep. Lack of rest from sleeping with others.

c. Improper and insufficient food.

d. Undertaking housework after a day's labor.

4. Attitude of family toward girl.

a. Feeling of responsibility on the part of the parents in respect to place of work; conditions of work; coming and going; companionship; amusement; places where evenings are spent.

b. How can parents be educated to interest themselves in the conditions which surround their working daughters?

c. What is the effect of the loss of adequate neighborhood life through migrations of the family, or for any other cause?

5. Influence of good home life on the girl's career.

a. How large a proportion of average girls have adequate homes?

b. What are the qualities in good family life which best assist the working girl? How can they be more generally developed?

c. How large a proportion of girls rise in industry and assist in bettering the home and family?

d. How do well-organized neighborhood relations assist in building up a girl's character?

III. Industry.

1. Effects of entrance on industry.

a. What are the physical changes that entrance on work brings?

b. In what characteristic ways does the girl's new attitude toward life manifest itself?

c. What is the changed relation to the home? How does it manifest itself?

d. Is there a changed attitude toward the neighborhood? In what way does it show?

e. What is to be said concerning the advantages and disadvantages (moral and economic) of factories; department stores; offices; housework?

f. How far do girls develop in capacity and character in their work?

g. What is the effect of wage and budget problems on the girl in this period?

2. Preparation for industry. Are the years between fourteen and sixteen wasted?

a. What differences of attitude toward the need of preparation are discoverable among families of various grades, types, and nationalities?

b. Would there be a distinct general gain if the girl between fourteen and sixteen were at home or at school?

c. Value of trade schools? What is their effect on the average girl?

d. Are young girls led into moral danger in seeking positions?

e. What is the general method of going about securing work?

f. What is to be avoided?

g. How can the necessity of trusting to chance for a position be done away with?

IV. Recreation.

1. To what extent does work affect the desire for pleasure? Are the lives of girls in shops dull? Are girls overtired?
2. What is the leading amusement ideal?
3. How far are young women dependent on men for amusement? What is the effect of being without spending money and forced to seek recreation outside of income?
4. In how far has the old relation between men and women broken down under our new individualism?
5. What is the effect of the theater and the moving-picture show upon the girl?
6. In how far and in what ways do settlement dances and dancing classes affect the neighborhood? What is the feeling of the girls towards settlement dancing?
7. Dance-halls. Their regulation by law; where tried and how successful. What can be done to do away with the sale of liquor in connection with dances?
8. How is the better grade commercial dance-hall regarded? Are there such?
9. Municipal dances. How successful have these been, and do they offer any hope for the future?

10. What provision is made for seeing that young girls reach their homes safely? How can the morals of the situation after the dance be conserved?

11. What is the influence of the skating-rink?

12. The school center. Does this throw a greater degree of protection about the young girl than other forms of public provisions of amusement?

13. Needs in recreation.
    a. In how far can the settlement work out a programme of recreation for its neighborhood?
    b. How can the settlement educate neighborhood public opinion?
    c. How can the settlement multiply entertainment in which there is the closest kind of supervision?

V. Morality.

1. Is there a growing lack of moral standards in industrial neighborhoods? Are people unmoral because unthinking?

2. How far is moral damage the result of ignorance? Would teaching in sex hygiene be of benefit?

3. Is the girl who becomes morally lax already

influenced in that direction before she enters this period (fourteen to eighteen)?

4. In how far is the girl prepared for this period by the public school? In what way could the school strengthen its work in this direction?
5. In how far do girls of this age come under adequate and forceful religious instruction and leadership?
6. In how far does the home exert positive and sympathetic support to the girl in maintaining her moral standards?
7. What is the attitude of girls of this age toward moral lapse?
8. Have they any real sense of its bearing on the future?
9. Is there a growing feeling that discovery is the only danger in such a lapse?
10. Is there a tendency (as the Chicago study seemed to show) for young girls to sacrifice honor solely for a good time, thus keeping themselves in their own opinion outside of prostitution?
11. Is there a growing tendency for girls to go into saloons, cafés, and cheap hotels?
12. What are the vital moral and intellectual interests that enable some girls to become moral leaders?

VI. What are Elements of Good Club-Work for Girls of this Period?

1. Is it not advisable that there should be some striking change and development in organized recreation for girls to mark the beginning of this period?
2. What are the working principles which govern the organization of clubs in this period so as to secure the greatest degree of loyalty and coöperation?
3. How valuable is committee and other routine work of organization; competition with boys' clubs; large meetings of girls?
4. How can parents be brought into the recreation interests of young people?

VII. Mixed Clubs of Boys and Girls.

1. At what ages ought boys and girls to meet together?
2. How successful are mixed clubs? In how far is it profitable to take such groups on excursions, picnics, to amusements, etc.? Elements of difficulty.
3. How far do you recognize the natural groups or sets among young men and women?

VIII. Educational.

1. What forms of educational work are most valuable in this period?

2. Value of gymnasium; folk-dancing.
3. What can be done to increase interest in domestic instruction?
4. To what extent is an effort made to create interest in the refinements of life? What methods are used and with what success?

IX. Preparation for the Following Period.

1. What sort of thought do girls in this period give to the real problems of marriage?
2. Could something analogous to the coming-out party and its point of view be developed?
3. How can girls be specifically interested in the technique of their future vocation of housewife as boys are interested in their prospective occupations?

X. Next Steps in a Programme.

Suggestions are asked as to the need and value in work among girls, of trade organizations, vocation courses, playgrounds and recreation centers, or any plan of action which seems to promise good results.

1. Interest in organization of women's unions.
2. More playgrounds.
3. Further trade schools.
4. Special visitors interested in the work and life of the girl.

December 20, 1911.

SECOND SCHEDULE ON THE PROBLEM OF THE ADOLESCENT GIRL BETWEEN FOURTEEN AND EIGHTEEN

I. General.

1. To what extent, in what ways, and through what forms of organization do you recognize and use the characteristics of the adolescent period in general, such as lack of stability, shifting moods, tendency toward emotional experience, etc.?
2. In what ways do you attempt to meet the problems growing out of the differences in the girls' outlook in the two periods fourteen to sixteen, and sixteen to eighteen?
3. Would it be a serviceable thing to bring girls together and talk to them of the physical and spiritual meaning of adolescence?

II. The Home.

1. What can be done to unify family spirit?
2. How can the father's interest in the daughter be more individualized and increased?
3. How can the father's interest and participation in the home and family life be increased?
4. How can the misunderstanding between mother and daughter be lessened and over-

come? Have you attempted to do this through —

a. Home visiting?

b. Talks on the adolescent girl to mothers' and women's clubs?

c. Studying the old-world traditions of the family and endeavoring to lead the girl to appreciate her parents' point of view?

d. Parties given by the mothers to the girls, and by the girls to the mothers?

5. In what other ways have you attempted to overcome this difficulty?

6. Is there any way of making plain to the working-class family the subtle but important differences in a girl's outlook in the two periods — fourteen to sixteen, and sixteen to eighteen?

7. How develop the qualities in good family life which best assist the working girl?

III. Industry.

1. What methods have been found successful in stimulating family responsibility as to the working conditions which surround the girl?

2. How can the girl's interest in her work be developed and sustained?

3. Do you attempt to show the girl the need and significance of efficiency?

IV. Recreation.

1. What specific forms of recreation have you found most valuable? Significant points in the organization and direction of each?
2. What would you consider a normal amount of amusement per week for the average girl? Specify in terms of shows, clubs, parties, money, evenings spent at home, etc.
3. In how far has the settlement been able to enter into constructive coöperation with municipal or commercial neighborhood agencies for recreation?
4. Specific relations with or criticism of —
   a. Moving-picture shows.
   b. Public dances.
5. To what extent are public dances in the neighborhood under a helpful legal statute?
6. Degree of success of the school-center movement in your neighborhood? What changes does the opening of a school center make in your work?
7. How can the girl's recreation be kept in right relation with the home?

V. Morals.

1. Should sex hygiene be taught individually? If in groups, what size should the group be?

2. How can the coöperation of the mother of the girl be secured in the work of teaching sex hygiene?
3. What can the school do? What can the church do?
4. Do you consider it necessary or only wise that club leaders should understand fully the physiology and psychology of adolescence?
5. How develop a neighborhood standard of wholesome romantic feeling? What use do you make of the world's great romances?
6. How can the saloon and the café be regulated?

VI. Visiting.

1. Do you make a definite effort to visit adolescent girls in their own homes? With what effect?
2. Do you visit girls at work?
3. Do you attempt to use Sunday as a visiting day? Do you endeavor to enter into the Sunday recreation of young people?

VII. Club and Class Work.

1. Some settlement workers believe that much club work fails because it has no underlying motive other than to entertain the girl and to be friendly with her. What is the aim of your club work?

2. Would it be possible to outline forms of club work which would help in guarding the girl against herself and building up her best powers? What would you suggest?
3. Specific instances of successful clubs, with some analysis of the reasons for the degree of result attained.
4. Specific ways in which parents are being engaged in the recreation interests of young people.
5. Practical ways of handling mixed clubs of boys and girls. Note successful examples.
6. Examples and technique of parties, dances, and other gatherings of boys and girls.
7. Specific examples of successful domestic science groups with analysis of qualities that make for success.
8. Specific examples of forms of work which aim directly at promoting the refinements of life.

VIII. The Future.

1. Specific instances of the girl's attitude toward marriage.
2. Analysis of successful ways of interesting girls in the technique of housework as preparation for marriage.

IX. Residents and Volunteers.

How can both residents and volunteers be prepared for their tasks of influencing the adolescent girl roundedly?

X. Examples.

Isolated instances of good single strokes of work or influence with adolescent girls.

Note. — As the nationality of the girl has its effect on many of the answers, each person replying to the schedule is requested to state what nationality is chiefly dealt with.

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